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THE MUSEUMS AND RUINS
OF ROME

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ROMA VETUS IMPERATORUM TEMPORIBUS.

1 : 33000

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Metri

--- Agger Servii Tullii. --- Murus Aureliani et Probi.

Campus Vaticanus

Naumachia

Mausoleum
Hadriani

Circus
Terentius

Horti Agrippinae

Pons Neroni

Avilius

A. Graciani

Valentiniani

Ara Divae

Proserp

Stadium
Domitian

Thermae
Alexand.

Thermae
Agrippae

Theatrum
Pompeii

Theatrum
Balbi

Pons Agrippae

Pons
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(Valentiniani)

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1. Tabularium
2. T.D. Vespasiani
3. T. Concordiae
4. T. Saturni
5. Basilica Julia
6. T. Castoris
7. Aedes et Atrium Vestae
8. T. Julii Caesaris
9. T. Sacrae urbis & Romuli
10. T.D. Antonini et Faustinae
11. Basilica Aemilia

Porta
Portuensis

Porta
Portuensis

Porta
Portuensis

Porta
Portuensis

Porta
Portuensis

M. Testaceus

Sepulcrum
Cestii



Fora Caesarum :

13. Forum Traiani
14. " Augusti
15. " Caesaris
16. " Nervae
17. " Vespasiani

THE
MUSEUMS AND
RUINS OF ROME

BY
WALTHER AMELUNG
AND
HEINRICH HOLTZINGER

ENGLISH EDITION REVISED BY THE AUTHORS
AND MRS S. ARTHUR STRONG, LL.D.

VOL. II.
THE RUINS
BY HEINRICH HOLTZINGER
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*Mr Karl Baedeker has kindly permitted the insertion of his map of
"Ancient Rome," which faces the title-page.*

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VOL. II

THE RUINS OF ROME

BY HEINRICH HOLTZINGER



a



FIG. 1.—The Interior of the Pantheon.



FIG. 2.—The Forum of Nerva, after Bühlmann.

INTRODUCTION

BESIDE the ancient Porta Maggiore, the railway embankment breaks through the walls of Aurelian; immediately after the half-ruined dome of Minerva Medica greets our eyes on the left, and a few minutes later we are standing before the earthen wall of Servius Tullius and the Baths of Diocletian. The beginning and the end of ancient Rome seem to be symbolised in these two last-named buildings: a relic of the period of the kings and a work of the last days of universal dominion look down together upon the spectator. There, a utilitarian structure, mighty in form, the greatest material work of Rome

before the Empire ; here, an edifice made for display, and fitted up with luxurious refinement, yet not a building dedicated, like the temples, to an ideal, but a work of public utility like the other.

The attitude of the Romans towards the plastic arts is strikingly exemplified in these earliest and latest constructions ; art was considered not so much as an end in itself, but rather as a handmaid of real life. Yet another thing is proclaimed to us by the ruins which we have mentioned : there was no Roman art, in the sense in which Hellenic art was the art of the Greeks. There was up to a certain point, as has been justly remarked, only art *among* the Romans. The elements of Roman art are in great part inherited from the Greeks, but in the hands of the Romans they gained, in obedience to new principles of construction, fresh life in many forms. How far the Romans in these matters were merely standing upon the shoulders of Greek masters, and what they owed to the East—in the building of vaults, for example—still remains partly hidden from our knowledge.

It would be preposterous to suppose that the monuments of ancient Rome afford an image of the whole architectonic activity of the Romans. The provinces also have preserved their strong individuality. Nevertheless, a walk through the ruins of Rome enables us to contemplate the development of Roman architecture more fully than is possible anywhere else. That the works of the Republican period are few in number, and in many cases only to be slowly disinterred from the architectural changes of later times, need hardly be said.



FIG. 3.—Portion of the Wall of Servius Tullius (near the Station), from
Baumeister's "Denkmäler."

I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROME AS A CITY

To fix the origin and earliest development of Rome chronologically is beyond our power. Only certain local points enable us to mark in general lines the boundaries of the earliest settlement out of which grew the City of the Seven Hills. The Palatine is indicated by the tradition of antiquity as the cradle of Rome, the site of the first colony. Even the name of the hill is eminently instructive not only for the early history of Rome but also in respect of the character of Latium in its earliest historical period. The hill was consecrated to Pales, the goddess of pasture ; it was a shepherd race that had first taken possession of it.

Very different, indeed, from the view which later

Romans beheld from the mountain height was that which presented itself to those people of Latin descent who first drove their herds north-westward from the slopes of the Alban hills into the great hill country of the Campagna. Woods and pasturage covered the broad undulating plain, the width of which is about 45 kilometres ; while the length, from the river Tiber to the projection of the Capo Circeo on the south-east is in round numbers 150 kilometres. Its western boundary is formed by the long and nearly straight line of the Tyrrhenian sea-coast, which runs parallel to the eastern boundary, the spurs of the Apennines ; while towards the north the Ciminian Forest, with its rough line of heights, forms a natural demarcation, a crossway barrier, shutting off the Etruscan from the Latin half of the coast lands between the Arno and the Capo Circeo. As regards the political development of Latium, however, another boundary, formed by the Tiber, the most considerable of the streams which flow towards the south-west, was even more important. At a little distance from its farther bank the Latins saw arising the towns of the Etruscans, their neighbours on the north-west. Up to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., that is to the fall of Veii in B.C. 396, the league of Etruscan cities was a power dangerous to Rome.

It is no hard task for the fancy, in view of the site, and supported by the tradition of antiquity, to picture the gradual settlement of that wide-reaching plain of Latium, from the extent of which it derived its name.

The inhabitants of the Eastern mountains did not push forward to the river and the coast in one irresistible stream. The things they sought, pasturage and easily

defensible abiding-places, were offered them, not by the Palatine Hill and the group of surrounding heights alone : a similar conformation presents itself repeatedly all over the Campagna. The soil of volcanic tufa is cut up in every direction by water-courses which, however, do not run undisturbed into the river or the sea, but find themselves confronted, now on the left hand, now on the right, by steep hills which force the streams into sharp windings. In this manner moderate elevations were formed, having level table-lands of moderate extent, which, with their steep walls, offered to their inhabitants a natural security of position.

These early settlements soon paled before the glory of the city on the Tiber. Their traces did not remain to be wiped out in the depopulation of the Campagna at the beginning of the Middle Ages ; ancient Rome herself, either by force of arms or by mere increase of growth, prepared the downfall of many once independent communities.

Many of these old places, like Crustumerium and others, are known to us only by name ; of others, such as Fidenæ or Gabii, we still know the site, which, to use Moltke's pertinent expression, is often the only scrap of truth remaining of a great past. Again, other spots, like Antemnæ, have lately yielded to research the treasures confided to their soil, the graves and their valuable contents.

The early supremacy of the colony upon the Palatine and its neighbouring hills did not depend solely upon the strength of its inhabitants ; the peculiar position of the place was another factor by no means to be despised. It favoured the development of a

community which began by being purely agricultural, into the most important commercial centre of the district. Pasture and ploughlands were easy of access from the gate on the east of the Palatine Hill over the saddle of the Velia; the young settlement commanded at once the old trading road to the sea by the upper valley of the Tiber, and the river-way itself.

THE ROME OF THE PALATINE.—

Nearly in the shape of a cube with its angles towards the four points of the compass, the Palatine Hill rises, somewhat steeply, to a height of 50 metres above the sea (43 above the Tiber); on the north side only, a saddle-shaped ridge, the Velia, leads across the valley to the Esquiline. The valleys which at present are dry were once watered by brooks, one of which, collecting its waters in the hollows between the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline, may perhaps be identified as the Spinon, while the name Nodinus possibly belongs to the stream which flowed round the Cœlius and ran down towards the Tiber between the Palatine and the Aventine. In the lower part of their course, near to the Tiber, these brooks lost themselves in rushy swamps which covered the site of the Velabrum (on the north) and the outlet of the valley of Murcia (on the west).

Whether the new-comers on the Palatine took immediate possession of the whole plateau, which is about 10 hectares in size, or whether at first they settled only on the north-western part, called Cermalus, cannot be determined; a trench originally divided the surface of the mountain into two halves, and only

ceased to be distinguishable owing to the great palaces of the Imperial period. Neither can we now decide whether the first settlers employed merely palings and a stockade for their defence, or whether the place was at once surrounded by a solid wall.

The boundaries of the Palatine city were kept in memory among the Romans down to the latter days of the Republic through the feast of the Lupericalia, when, as Varro tells, the priests of Lupercus ran round the Palatine, and Tacitus still saw in his time the boundary stones that were set up at regular intervals to mark the line of the Pomœrium, that is, the free zone outside the city wall which was particularly intended to facilitate the defence of the place. This institution goes back to Etruscan ritual according to which the site for a new settlement was first consecrated as a temple and then surrounded by a furrow. Only when this rite had been completed was the building of the wall begun, and as this followed the edge of the hill on which the town was placed, it could not everywhere keep the same distance between the square of the temple and the line of the Pomœrium. It is more than doubtful, indeed, whether, in the oldest Palatine town, the so-called *Roma Quadrata*, the custom of marking the Pomœrium's boundaries by stones at regular distances was observed at the foundation of the city, for some of the stones that were still visible in the time of the Empire stood in places which at the time of Rome's foundation were most probably covered by water or swamps.

According to the description given by Tacitus, the line of the Pomœrium started from the bronze figure

of a bull on the Forum Boarium (erected in remembrance of the furrow ploughed with a bull and a cow), and leaving the great altar to Heracles within the Pomœrium, passed to the altar of Consus at the southern corner of the Palatine, thence to the "old Curia" at the eastern point, bending round again to the shrine of the Lares at the northern corner, and running back through the hollow of the Velabrum to its starting-point at the statue of the bull.

Evidences of the earliest enclosure of the hill perhaps still exist in the occasional remains of walls of tufa blocks near the western corner, above the Velabrum (fig. 4). The materials are taken from the hill itself, some of whose extensive quarries were dug contemporaneously with the building of the first wall. Near to the so-called House of Livia, a pit of these *lautumia* is still to be seen, provided with a modern framework. The wall was not placed on the upper rim of the hill, but the slope of the latter was cut off almost perpendicularly for some 12 metres, and a wall of squared stones was erected which stood only breast high above the edge of the mountain. The courses are composed of "stretchers" and "headers," that is to say, the blocks are alternately placed transversely and longitudinally. The average thickness of the wall was one metre and a half, at the western angle it increases beyond four. Only about a third of the height of this old wall has endured; at the end of the Republic it had long ceased to be used, and had been frequently built over.

Of the three gates of the wall perhaps a fragment of one still remains, of the others we can only approximately determine the position. The Porta Mugonia,

in front of which Romulus is said to have erected an altar to Jupiter in memory of his victory over Titus Tatius, is supposed to have been at the upper part of the Summa nova Via, that is to say on the north-east side of the hill not far from the subsequent Arch of Titus. Whether the tufa blocks found in the Via S. Bonaventura, the old Clivus Palatinus, belonged to that gate is doubtful. Some people derive the name of the gate from the lowing of the cattle that were driven through this gate into the pastures.

The wall on the north-western side contained the gate leading to the stream (Rumon), the

Porta Romana (Romanula), while on the south-western side, near the western point of the hill, a few blocks of tufa seem to mark the remains of a third gate, at which a flight of steps, the Scalæ Caci, began.

Many passages in the tradition concerning the foundation of the city point to the last-mentioned locality. The cavern lying here at the foot of the hill, the Lupercal, kept in memory, until the late days of the Empire, the cradle that drifted hither with the twins who were nursed by the she-wolf in this



FIG 4.—Remains of very ancient walls on the Palatine.

grotto. About the middle of the Republican period, the bronze group of the she-wolf and the children (these were restored in modern times) now preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Vol. i. p. 199), was erected at this spot, and its image may be seen on many ancient Roman coins. Foliage originally shaded the entrance to the cavern; at a later time architectural decorations were added. Augustus mentions a restoration of these in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

The Ruminalian fig-tree which originally stood near the grotto, was transplanted to the Comitium, where it was still shown at a very late date; it is represented, among other places, upon the marble balustrade of Trajan's Rostra (p. 62). The tradition that, at the feast of the Lupercalia, mentioned above, the running of the priests began at this cave, is connected with a second tradition which declares the cave to have been dedicated by Evander and his companions to the god *Lupercus*, the Italian Pan.

We may neglect the legend about the green tree on the slope of the *Cacus* which was believed to have sprouted from the spear of Romulus, and consider only the mythical founder's straw-thatched hut, known also as the *Tugurium Faustuli*. The shape of this and of the oldest dwellings in *Roma Quadrata* is represented to us mainly by the cinerary urns found at *Alba Longa* and on the sites of other Latin settlements. Above the wide door with its bar and lock projects the roof supported by four posts and showing no opening (fig. 5). The inhabitants of the Palatine Rome buried their dead in the valley on the north-east, afterwards occupied by the Forum; the graves

recently discovered there belong to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

SERVIAN ROME.—To Roma Quadrata tradition links, as the next stage of growth, the so-called Servian Rome, that is the town enclosed by the Wall of Servius Tullius.

We may fairly conclude, however, from a small number of scattered observations, that this extraordinary enlargement of the city territory was preceded by intermediate stages which apparently denote two different phases of growth. The means of distinguishing between these is afforded by observations about festivals which, even at a late period, were celebrated in common by such quarters of the town as had once formed part of those enlarged urban areas.

Rome next outgrew the Palatine district to eastward. Under the name of Septimontium or Feast of the Seven Hills, the inhabitants of a series of adjacent quarters used, down to early Imperial times,

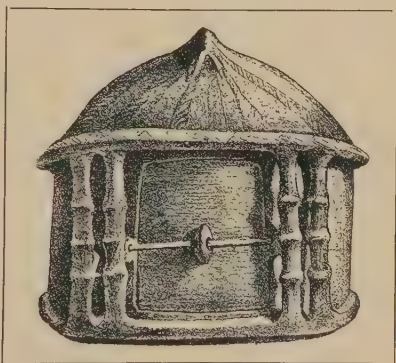


FIG. 5. Burial Urn in the shape of a house, after Schneider, "Das alte Rom."

to keep a festival that marked the original unity of the whole district. These *septem montes* are not indeed identical with the seven hills of the subsequent Servian city, but comprise the following elevations: the Palatine, the Cermalus, that is the north-western portion of the Palatine originally divided from it by a dyke; the Velia; Oppius, Cispius, and Fagutal, three parts of the Esquiline Mount; and the Sucusa, or, as it was afterwards written, Subura, probably the northern point of the western part of the Cœlius. (In later days, the name Subura is no longer confined to this place but is transferred to the hollow on the north-west of the Esquiline.)

The town underwent a further enlargement by its expansion over the whole of the Cœlius on the south, and over the Viminal and Quirinal on the north-east. The division of the whole new territory into four "regions" was attributed to King Servius Tullius. The outer boundaries of this "City of the Four Regions" can be fixed only approximately and conjecturally; they coincided in part only, on the western edge of the Quirinal and on the Cœlius, with the subsequent so-called Servian Wall. For our knowledge of the inner boundaries between the four regions we have only the inadequate evidence of the fourteen shrines of the Argæi handed down to us by tradition. The names of the regions were: 1. Suburana (on the south-east, including the Cœlius with the Sucusa or Subura (see above) and the valley as far as the Esquiline; 2. Esquilina (Oppius, Fagutal, and Cispius; 3. Collina (Viminal and Quirinal); 4. Palatina (Palatine and Velia). An enclosing wall, including the Capitol, is generally assumed for this City of the Four Regions also, but no positive

evidence exists in support of this hypothesis. The tradition of the ancients only tells of the great wall by which the City of the Four Regions, that is to say the enlargement of the Pomœrium attributed to Servius Tullius, was protected ; and yet more extensive districts, on the south-west and north-east, not included in the Pomœrium, were surrounded, this extension being likewise regarded as the work of that king. Military considerations may have been largely the cause of this extension of the encircling wall and of the considerable increase of territory.

Remains of this so-called Servian Wall are distinguishable in many places, even at the present day, and careful study of them shows that they are not all contemporary ; many of them, that is to say, have been renewed at some later time during the Republican period. The date of the earliest construction can no longer be definitely determined ; parts of what yet remains may perhaps go back as far as the fourth century, but most of it, in the mass, can scarcely be older than the third century B.C. Towards the middle of the first century B.C. this wall had entirely lost its importance and buildings extended beyond it in every direction ; a few decades later Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes its remains as difficult to discover.

The material employed was solely tufa taken from the Roman hills themselves ; it was made into blocks of an average length of one metre and a half and an average breadth of 59 centimetres. They are laid on the system described above in alternate courses without mortar, and the manner in which the wall was constructed on the sides of the hills corresponded likewise to that described in reference to Roma Quadrata.

It is obvious that those portions of the wall which stood only breast-high above a steep hillside, and those fortifications on the bank of the Tiber between the Aventine and the Capitol, which were treated in the same way, would disappear most easily; while on the other hand the chief remains preserved belong to the part that was most massive from the beginning, the earthwork with an inner and an outer wall, the Agger Servii Tullii, upon the naturally quite unprotected table-land of the Quirinal.

The remains of the so-called Wall of Servius, though inconsiderable in themselves, are still sufficiently numerous to render it possible to trace all the essential points of its course; the situation of the gates is not, however, certain in all cases, and there are no definite proofs of the existence of any towers; their number would in any case have been scarce at the beginning.

If we follow the wall in a north-easterly direction from the bank of the Tiber, we can conclude, if only from literary tradition, that there existed two gates between the river and the southern point of the Capitol, the Porta Flumentana and the Porta Carmentalis, which, in accordance with its name, led to a neighbouring shrine of the nymph Carmenta. The Vicus Jugarius, which came from the Forum, ended at this gate. In its old position it was distinguished as a double gate. Through the right wing the Fabii had once passed out of the city on their fatal expedition to the Cremera (477 B.C.). From that time the name of Porta Scelerata clung to the gate, and only the left wing was used for passing in and out.

Isolated remains of the north-western wall of the

Capitol exist, for instance on the Via delle Tre Pile by the present main ascent, and near the church of the Aracoeli. As the rock of the Capitol itself was in ancient days entirely inaccessible on the north-west, there was no other gate in the encircling wall before coming to the north-east side of the summit. A saddle-shaped spur of hill originally connected the Capitol and the Quirinal at this point; it was Trajan who had it removed in order to gain space for his forum. According to the testimony of the inscription upon that Emperor's column the height of the connecting ridge was 100 Roman feet. The Clivus Argentarius, which led northward from the Comitium, formerly crossed the saddle to the Campus Martius and left the town here by a gate formerly identified as the Porta Ratumena, but recently supposed to be the Porta Fontinalis. Remains of the former gateway can perhaps be recognised farther to the north-east in the court of the Palazzo Antonelli, not far from the fragments of wall in the Piazza Magnanapoli. If we follow the course of the Wall of Servius farther towards the north and north-east, we reach the site, in the Via della Dataria, of the old Porta Sanqualis, not far from the temple of Semo Sancus, and farther on, in the course of the present Via delle Quattro Fontane, that of the Porta Salutaris, not far from where once stood the temple of Salus. The situation of the Porta Quirinalis is uncertain.

Four gates led out from the eastern line of the Wall of Servius. First, near to the north-eastern point of the city, the Porta Collina, which being situated at one of the most exposed parts of the wall, was perhaps constructed with particular care. The remains which were

laid bare in the year 1872 on the east side of the Ministry of Finance, but which were unfortunately carried away, made it possible to trace a double-gate built of peperino with an inner room and a tower adjoining on the south. The gate played its part in the history of the city, when the Gauls stormed it in the year 390 B.C.; in Hannibal's siege, and in Sulla's victory over the adherents of Marius (82 B.C.). A few remains of the Porta Viminalis in the Agger, the next gate on the south, have also come to light, near to the railway station, and likewise some from the Porta Esquilina near to the Arch of Gallienus by S. Vito. The road to Præneste left the city here.

From the Porta Collina to the Porta Esquilina the wall of Republican Rome, set high on the hill ridges, was, wherever possible, replaced by a mighty earthwork and trench, the Agger Servii Tullii, which, at this place, was carried in a south-easterly direction over the great table-land from which the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline extended westward in the shape of outlying tongues. The trench that ran outside the wall was on an average 30 metres wide and 9 deep; the broad bank of earth was 25 metres wide, and was furnished, though probably not at first, with inner and outer walls of tufa carried out in regularly alternating courses averaging 59 centimetres in height and 70 centimetres to 3 metres in length. The outer wall attained a thickness of from 3 to 4 metres and a height of about 15, while the strengthening wall on the inside, which was added later, was of somewhat smaller dimensions. Considerable remains, still showing the stonecutter's marks on the side that was next the bank, are standing visible to the

east of the station (fig. 3), as well as in the so-called Auditorium of Mæcenæ, and in the Piazza Manfredi Fanti. Towards the end of the Republican period the wall had entirely lost its importance as a fortification. Private houses, remains of which have been found, had pressed close up to the wall. Ultimately Mæcenæ had the ditch entirely filled up.

Only the names are known to us of the gates in that part of the Wall of Servius which stood upon the heights and the southern border of the Cœlius; they were the Porta Cœlimontana and the Porta Querquetulana. The position of



FIG. 6.—Wall of Servius, on the Aventine.

the former may be assumed to have been somewhere near the eastern end of the present Via di S. Stefano. The second gate too derived its name from the mountain which, owing to its ancient oak woods, bore the name of Querquetulanus. The Porta Capena at the foot of the Cœlius, on the southwest, was of greater importance, and its position is assured by the neighbouring remains of the wall. From this gate went the oldest of the Roman roads, which was also the most famous on account of the

magnificent memorials to the dead which bordered it, the Via Appia, that "Regina Viarum," which connected Rome with the south of the peninsula. The Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus, the same to whom Rome owed the first aqueduct, originally made the road from Rome to Capua in 312 B.C., and from the latter spot it was afterwards continued past Beneventum to Brundisium (Brindisi). Somewhat to the north-west of the Porta Capena, in a hollow within the walls between the Cœlius and the Aventine, a second road, the Via Ardeatina, branched off from the Via Appia to leave the city by the Porta Nævica. Somewhat farther towards the west the Via Ostiensis, which led across the furrowed dip in the Aventine, left the city by the Porta Raudusculana. On the hillside near at hand (in the Vigna de' Gesuiti or Torlonia) considerable remains, belonging, however, to later repairs of the Wall of Servius, are still standing upright, among them a length of 35 metres, made of 25 courses of blocks (1 metre and 40 centimetres long) and reaching to a height of 13 metres (fig. 6). Near-by was the Porta Lavernalis, and lastly, at the northern base of the Aventine, on the narrow shore of the Tiber, was the Porta Trigemina. The name points to a threefold entrance, and the remains of an arch which have been found there have been referred to this gate.

Throughout the greater part of its course, which we have been hitherto describing, the wall was carried partly as a wall along the hillsides, partly in the form of a bank and dyke across the open tableland, but the remaining section between the Porta Trigemina and the Porta Flumentana was merely the wall of a quay rising only some eight metres above the stream and looking from

the town rather like a parapet. With the erection of this the vast work was completed, and a fortification, $11\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres in circumference, encircled Republican Rome.

IMPERIAL ROME.—We lack trustworthy information as to how long these walls protected Rome. Discoveries and documents show us, however, that even when the followers of Marius and those of Sulla were still fighting at the Porta Collina the city had in that last century of the Republic already extended in many places beyond the walls, that the bank was built over and the ditch filled up. Many considerable spaces within the walls were probably covered earlier with lawns and gardens, and in the time of Augustus the Campus Martius, the wide plain between the Capitol, the Quirinal, and the Tiber, was already occupied by buildings and gardens. The time had come to set back the Pomœrium once more, and to divide the town afresh. Fourteen regions arose in place of the previous four, one of which, "Trans-Tiberim," was at the foot of the Janiculus, the summit of which had long been crowned by a fort to protect the bridge.

In other respects Rome remained an open town. At the heart of the vast Empire which comprised all the shores of the Mediterranean, on the borders of which the legions mounted guard, while the Prætorian Guard had their camp on the east of the capital itself, no danger threatened, as it had once done. Not till nearly three hundred years later did dark clouds arise, when the frontiers had lost their security and the barbarians advanced menacingly. When the north of the peninsula had actually become a theatre of war, the anxiety of the Emperors for the safety of

the city increased. Aurelian began (A.D. 272), and his successor, Probus,



FIG. 7.—Gate of S. Paolo and Pyramid of Cestius.

completed (A.D. 279), the building of a great new wall, the circumference of which exceeded that of the old Wall of Servius by more than half. This was the wall which Alaric and Totila stormed, and be-

hind which modern Rome still attempted to protect herself against Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi. The

length of this Aurelian Wall amounts to nearly 19 kilometres, its height to 17 metres, and its thickness to 4. It has been reckoned that, including the inner road of 5 metres wide and the outer



FIG. 8.—The Porta Maggiore.

road of 10 wide, 358,000 square metres of land were appropriated for this wall. Along the inner side runs an

arched walk supporting a battlemented platform, while the wall itself possesses loopholes. At regular intervals of a little less than 30 metres towers project from 4 to 5 metres. The number of the gates is 13. Some are now walled up; most of them, like the wall itself, have at different times undergone comprehensive restorations (figs. 7 and 8). Sometimes older buildings have been included within the circle of the wall, as was the case with the pyramidal monument of Cestius near the Porta Ostiensis (di S. Paolo), the Amphitheatrum Castrense, and several crossings of aqueducts over roads in the south-east of the city; while on the north-east the great projection of the Prætorian camp is particularly marked.



FIG. 10.—Basis from the Temple of Concord.

II

THE ROMAN FORUM

IF we would draw a picture of ancient Rome, it is not enough, as it might be in Olympia or Pompei, to clear away the rubbish and soil beneath which the monuments have slumbered for a thousand and a half years. Only a very small part of Rome's splendour lies buried on the spot; not the tooth of time but the indestructible life of the city itself brought about its decay. The change of religion and of all ritual institutions, the removal of the seat of government to the shores of the Bosphorus, the increasing depopulation of the city, then the disturbances and violences of the Middle Ages, and finally the employment of the ancient materials for the new buildings of the Renaissance, are only a few of the long series of blows by which Fate destroyed the art of ancient Rome. Here we behold desolation and decay, there wilful destruction, at other places again complete rebuilding for fresh purposes; and furthermore in tradition we find a total

indifference to ancient greatness or else an incredible misinterpretation of the facts. Thus it became possible for the Roman of the Middle Ages to know the Capitol as Monte Caprino, "the hill of goats," and no stone remained upon it to bear witness of the ancient city's greatest sanctuary, which even Italian archæologists of the eighteenth century supposed to have been on the side of the hill opposite its true place.

Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only the tops of columns peeped from the "field of cows," the Campo Vaccino, beneath which the centre of the ancient world, the Roman Forum, with its temples and basilicas, lay hidden under 30 feet of rubbish. Not every memorial of the ancient city can hope for such a resurrection of its remains as has been achieved in the Forum or the Imperial palaces on the Palatine; very often the ruins must be sought amid the narrow streets of later centuries; but the archæological researches of our day, especially in regard to topography and to the history of architecture, are beginning more and more to fill up the gaps in the plan of ancient Rome.

THE FORUM.—We begin our pilgrimage, as is meet, with the local and ideal centre of the ancient city, the Forum, which lay in the hollow between the Capitol, the Palatine, and the eastern hills. By nature this hollow, which stretched from north-west to south-east, was scarcely predestined to its subsequent importance. It was marshy land, in which the waters from the hills collected and the stream (Spinon?) which carried these waters away to the west, through the depression which divided the Palatine from the Capitol, into

the Tiber, flowed between banks overgrown with reeds. It was only by a skilful system of drainage that these hollows, the Forum and the Velabrum, were rendered dry and reclaimed for purposes of traffic and building. The solid knowledge of engineering existing in the very earliest Roman period is proved to the present day by drains of which some are still in use, and especially by the great main drain of the district, the Cloaca Maxima. At the present day it emerges into open view on the Velabrum by the Janus Quadrifrons, and the mouth of it is still visible on the bank of the Tiber, near the Temple of Fortune. The barrel vault, however, composed of well-fitting centre stones and with a threefold row of arches at its outfall, can hardly retain its reputation of high antiquity (the period of the Kings), but the fame of large and well-planned construction will ever remain with the work. Although, as tradition declares, Etruscan masters, experienced in masonry and vault-building, may have been called to Rome, the ability which Latium itself could command in these matters of technical skill was assuredly scarcely less.

How important the draining of the Forum must have been to growing Rome, a glance at its position will show. As long as the community on the Palatine, the neighbouring one on the Quirinal, and others, each isolated, needed only to care for their own narrow concerns, their own enclosed areas sufficed; but it was otherwise when intercourse, checked at first by unfriendly encounters (legends of the quarrel between the Romans and the Sabines, etc.), began to develop in peaceful ways. Then this valley became the natural centre of mutual intercourse, and here, too, the roads



FIG. 11.--The Roman Forum (Reconstruction by Bauernfeind).



FIG. 12.—The Palatine, Forum, and Capitol.

from the river and from the distant mountains met. That the space should be deliberately planned out from the beginning was obviously out of the question. Here, a place was chosen to bury the dead, there an altar was erected to some deity, to Saturn, for example, and to Vulcan at the foot of the Capitol; Vesta's steady flame burned in a circular sanctuary close under the Palatine Hill, and its slope at that part was covered by a grove dedicated to the goddess. Tutelary divinities of the stream were worshipped on the spot where the Dioscuri watered their horses at the spring of Juturna when they announced the victory of Lake Regillus to the Romans. The actual life of the community, too, took advantage of the valley's favourable situation. The townspeople assembled here, the Comitium echoed with lively speech, booths for dealers bordered the long open space, which afforded comfortable room, also, for the public games.

The open area of the Forum assumed in the course of the Republican period a shape which gradually came to have very definite bounds. The Via Sacra, leading down from the summit of the Velia towards the Capitol, then another road running parallel on the opposite longer side of the Forum, and finally the Clivus, which ascended to the Capitol, enclosed the open space within limits admitting of no further expansion. The shrines of the gods, too, remained undisturbed, but grew in extent; and the temples, which began by being modest both in size and in material, were replaced at later periods, and especially in the early days of the Empire, by more splendid buildings. The new buildings of the Curia press nearer to the Forum, the Comitium loses its importance and finally disappears

altogether, and the great basilicas form a covered extension of the square.

The boundaries and ground-plan of the Forum, as laid out in the Republican period, can in many details only be fixed conjecturally; the picture still visible in the large ruins was created under the Empire. Even in the latest period of antiquity, after the new seat of Empire had been erected in Constantinople, many restorations took place, and some new monuments arose in the Forum.

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.—The stranger who at the present day pays his first visit to the Forum will generally begin by surveying it from the Capitoline Hill. There, where the street now descends between the Palace of the Senator and that of the Conservatori, the Clivus Capitolinus, part of which was bordered by a portico, once wound upward to the Temple of Jupiter at the summit.

The ground immediately at our feet was consecrated from a very early time; it lies a little higher than the actual Forum; and even before its land was reclaimed by the draining of the marshy valley, sacrifices may have been made to Vulcan here, slightly to the right, between the Arch of Severus and the Capitol, where afterwards Camillus built a temple to Concordia in perpetual remembrance of the agreement between the patricians and plebeians, effected by the Licinian Law (367 B.C.). C. Opimius rebuilt the temple and erected a basilica beside it on the border of the Comitium (121 B.C.); but both buildings had to give place to the great new temple that Tiberius began to build in the time of Augustus (A.D. 10).

What small remains we still behold belong to this period. They consist merely of the foundation and some few pieces of the walls of the *cella*. The back wall of this adjoins the sub-structure of the *Tabularium*; the narrow north-eastern side is hidden under the modern stair that leads to the Aracœli; and the outer steps of the temple and a piece of the portico are hidden in the same way beneath the modern street that cuts the Forum on this side. But even in these small remnants the building is interesting as an evidence of the way in which the Romans modified the seemingly stiff scheme of the oblong temple with a portico on the short side, where local circumstances, or difficulties of site, required. Thus, in the picturesque temple of the river-god Clitumnus near Spoleto, the steep bank, with a fall of fourteen metres, forbade the usual steps in front, and necessitated on each side a way up with a dainty portico; so here, in Rome, where the Clivus, as it wound up to the Capitol, left but a narrow space, there was no hesitation about placing the *cella* of the Temple of Concord across lengthways and building the portico and steps in the middle of the south-eastern longer side. The object after all was to reserve as large an interior as possible, which would contain not only the statue and the offerings, but also, from time to time, the assembled Senate, and, furthermore, the sanctuary was likewise intended to house a considerable museum of works of art.

The artistic decoration of the building itself accorded with the valuable contents. That vandalism, however, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as the Florentine Poggio Bracciolini testifies, bore off the most valuable kinds of stone to the lime-kilns,

has made but too clean a sweep here; but even the slight fragments which were found a hundred years ago show the splendour of the ancient building. Finely worked bases of columns are still preserved in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 10); two capitals are standing in the palace of the Conservatori, and in the Tabularium part of the rich leafy cornice has been put together out of broken pieces (fig. 13). Other fragments have been recently set up in the ruins themselves.

A coin of Tiberius helps us to recognise the exterior. Statues adorned the pediment of the portico



FIG. 13.—Cornice of Temple of Concord.

and also stood at the corners of the *cella* where pillars marked the termination. The sides of the steps were also adorned with statues, one of which seems to represent Mercury with the caduceus in his right hand. The windows in the walls of the *cella* are of especial architectural interest; probably a fuller light than the usual dim illumination of temples was desired here where there was an art collection to be admired.

TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN. — That the

narrow space between the Clivus and the Capitol, mentioned above, could, at need, suffice for a temple with a statue of the tutelary deity in it, is shown by the immediately adjoining ruin, the corner of which is still adorned by three columns. It is the Temple of Vespasian, and was erected in honour of that deified emperor and of his son Titus in A.D. 80. Their two statues towered side by side upon the broad base of which the core may still be seen in the back part of the *cella*. The walls of the *cella* are made of squared blocks of travertine; they were covered on the outside with marble of Pentelicus, while the interior glowed with coloured stones, of which the pavement especially still retains traces. The pedestals of tufa ranged along the interior of the longer sides once bore columns by which, as in the Temple of Concord, the walls were adorned, and the places of these columns can still be determined by the marks of the harder travertine. The fineness of the execution is still shown by the columns of the portico (fig. 14). Two of these belong to the six columns of the front, the third stands on the north-eastern longer side of the building.

The portico came close up to the Clivus, and it was therefore necessary to let the upper steps cut into the spaces between the columns; we find a similar instance in the well-preserved *pronaos* (or vestibule) of the beautiful Temple at Assisi.

The Corinthian columns of marble are fluted, which is not always the case in Roman architecture; their entablature, part of which is preserved in the Tabularium, is among the richest of its kind. As is frequently the case with Roman temples (Temple of Saturn, Temple of Antoninus, and others) the front of

the whole entablature is left free for the inscription and



FIG. 14 — Temple of Vespasian and Portico of the Twelve Gods.

no space left upon it for ornamentation, even the

division between the two principal members of the entablature, the epistyle below and the frieze that lies upon it, has in this instance (and in that of the neighbouring Temple of Saturn too) been entirely obliterated, although probably this only happened when Severus, at his restoration of the building, added to the original dedicatory inscription. Space was thus obtained for the long inscription, a remnant of whose last abbreviated word, "*restituerunt*," still appears. Even of this only the shape of the letters cut into the stone is left; the actual letters (of gilded bronze) that filled the spaces, are long since gone. The entire wording of the inscription has been preserved for us by one of the old pilgrims' books, "The Itinerary," found in the convent of Einsiedeln, an early Christian Baedeker, which guided the northern pilgrims to the holy places of Rome, and incidentally often mentioned the pagan monuments, whereby it has become an invaluable well of knowledge, especially of topographical knowledge, to us. This inscription informs us that the Temple of Vespasian was restored, though perhaps only partially, by Septimius Severus and his son Antoninus—*i.e.* Caracalla—in the beginning of the third century.

The portion of the almost over-rich entablature and cornice on the side (restored cast in the Tabularium) belongs, however, undoubtedly to the period of the original temple. The epistyle of three members terminates in delicate leaves above the astragal moulding; and the ornamentation of the frieze is of especial objective interest. Between the Bucrania, wreathed skulls of oxen, treated in this case very naturalistically, appear the various sacrificial instruments, represented in detail (for example a jug and bowl with figures in

relief); little rings are still set into the spaces of the tooth moulding; the consoles, rosettes, and gutter are adorned with vegetable ornaments (fig. 15).

THE HALL OF THE TWELVE GODS.

—If we turn from the Temple of Vespasian to the eight columns hard by, the ruins of the Temple of Saturn, our glance travels along a white colonnade nestling in the angle formed by the Tabularium and by the Clivus as it rises, after a sharp bend, towards the Capitol. This hall stands upon an artificially levelled terrace, part of which, toward the Temple



FIG. 15.—Frieze and cornice of the Temple of Vespasian.

of Vespasian, rests on the roofs of rooms below, the purpose of which is now unknown. But in the hall itself a long inscription, still adorning the marble entablature, tells us that the prefect of the city, Vettius Agorius Prætextatus, that last desperate champion of falling paganism, rebuilt this hall in the year A.D. 367. It sheltered the gilded statues of the twelve chief divinities, the *Dii Consentes*, which were mentioned by Varro as an adornment of the Forum, and which stood perhaps within the portico,

but according to other authorities upon it. The object of the wide open chambers within the hall is not known. It is easy to see that the latter was to some degree restored at the time when its fragments were put together in the year 1858; but even its ancient parts do not all belong to one and the same period; the capitals, for instance, seem to have been too large for the shafts of the columns.

THE TEMPLE OF SATURN.—The neighbouring ruin with its eight columns is on about the same artistic level. It is the remnant of the oldest sanctuary at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, the Temple of Saturn (fig. 16). The importance of this ancient sacred foundation is evinced by the fact that throughout the whole of antiquity anxious care was shown to keep up this building worthily and to restore it after fires or similar mischances. Moreover, the inscription on the entablature of the portico tells of a restoration, which, from the character of the epigraphy, must have occurred at a very late date. The temple was in all probability founded at the beginning of the Republic, and shortly before our era (42 B.C.) L. Munatius Plancus erected a new building to which the existing substructure, made of brick faced with masonry-work in travertine, and the remains of the marble facing, no doubt belong. A threshold which is still visible indicates one of the entrances to the lower building which was five metres high and held the *Ærarium*, the treasury of the city. The back part of the temple is not yet excavated, so that its length can only be guessed at; it is the same with the structure and adornment of the *cella*, which

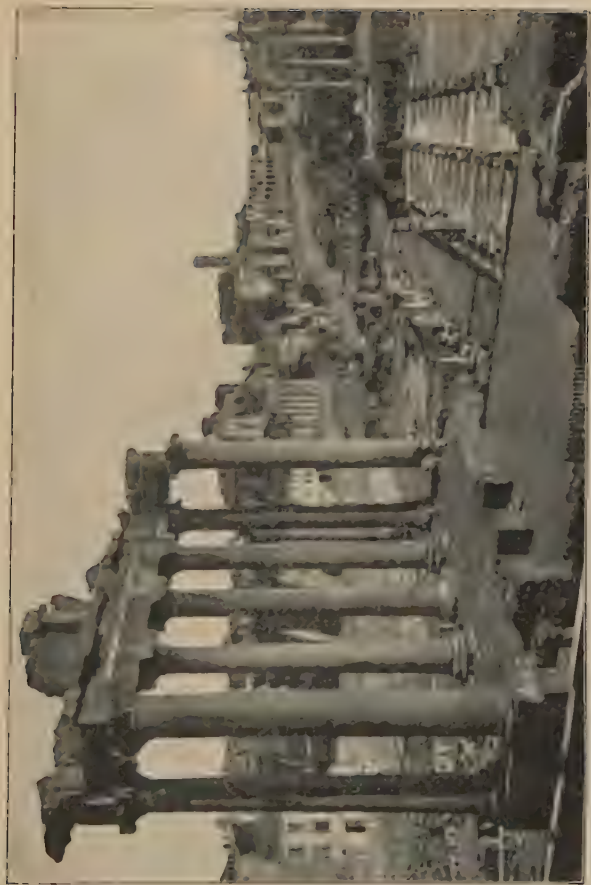


FIG. 16.—Temple of Saturn and Basilica Julia.

was perhaps pseudo-peripteral, that is to say adorned with projecting half-columns. The portico no doubt had the depth peculiar to Roman temples as distinguished from those of the Greeks.



FIG. 17.—Temple of Saturn and Tabularium.

Only the six front columns and one here and there on the sides remain, besides the entablature. They are nearly eleven metres high; their unfluted shafts rise from a base of white marble and have Ionic capitals, which, at the corners of the temple, have angle-volutes. The over-elaborate treatment of

the *echinus* or egg-moulding, with its acanthus-decked grooves, the trellised torus and the proper *echinus* above, are enough to betray the taste of a late period; moreover, an uncertain, hasty hand is shown in the selection of the granite shafts, some grey and some reddish, and in the irregular putting together of their parts (fig. 17).

The hurried rebuilding may have taken place after the great fire which damaged the Forum in the time of Carinus (283 A.D.). That everything was not new, but that materials were used which only half corresponded, may be seen from a glance at the inner side of the entablature of the columns, where pieces of the older building have evidently had feeble imitations assorted to them. The outer steps have now quite disappeared; the way in which their lower part narrowed owing to the angular line of the street's course can be distinctly seen on a fragment of the marble plan of the city which was prepared under Septimius Severus and adorned the back wall of the *Templum Urbis*, the ancient land-registry office afterwards the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano); the remains of it, formerly let into the walls of the staircase in the Capitoline Museum, have now been taken to the court of the Palazzo de' Conservatori.

BASILICAS.—To the three large temples at the north-western end of the Forum corresponded a similar group which however only grew up very gradually at the opposite end of the open space, where the temple of the deified Cæsar arose between the Temple of Castor on the south and the Temple of Antoninus on the north (fig. 18). Along the sides of the Forum stood in addition secular buildings on the largest scale. After the meat and provision markets had been moved elsewhere the *tabernæ*—those on the shady or south side called “the old,” and “the new” on the opposite side of the road—gave shelter for a long time to the trade of the goldsmiths and money-changers. Then, towards the end of

the Republic, these shops began to give place to the monumental basilicas, the first of which in Rome was built near the Comitium by M. Porcius Cato as early as 185 B.C. These were copied from the similar erections in the Greek towns of the East, where public life being more commodious and



FIG. 18.—The Temples on the east side of the Forum.

magnificent, such buildings, imitated perhaps from the "Hall of the Kings" or "Stoa Basilike" in Athens, had grown up and become universal. Instead of buying and selling, discussing, and even trying cases in the open air, the Romans could now step into wide, open halls with high roofs resting upon columns or pillars running all the way round. There were galleries, no doubt, over the side aisles, but the long

and wide central portion overtopped them, and the subdued light shed from windows placed high and covered with thin sheets of pierced marble was reflected myriad-ways by the smooth parti-coloured marble pavement, the walls inlaid with coloured patterns of stone, the posts and pillars and the gilded and panelled ceiling. These basilicas may be compared in intention and form with the sumptuous buildings of modern Exchanges, nor should we forget that in many cases they had also to serve as courts of justice ; generally a building was added at one end for this purpose, and was commonly in the form of an apse, half circular in plan and finished by a vaulted roof. The *podium*, or platform for the judge and his assistants, ran round the curve of the wall. The buildings of this description belonging to Republican Rome have all been crowded out or replaced by the more splendid edifices of the Imperial period ; the basilicas of Cato, Opimius, Sempronius, and others exist only in literary tradition. In the Forum, in particular, the whole extent of the south side between the temples of Castor and Saturn was covered by the vast building of the Basilica Julia, which was begun by Cæsar and completed by Augustus ; while the hall of the Basilica Æmilia, a great new edifice, erected in the year 31, lay opposite.

THE BASILICA JULIA.—While the building last mentioned lies for the most part buried under rubbish, the whole extent of the Basilica Julia has been laid bare. It covers an area of 101 metres in length and 49 in breadth. Steps lead up from the Via Sacra straight into the outer aisle on the north, and three

more steps from this into the inner one. The purpose of the basilicas, as declared by Vitruvius, which was to form a sheltered extension of the Forum, is better fulfilled by the Basilica Julia than perhaps by any other of its kind. The outer sides are wholly cut out into arcades so that traffic could flow in and out unhindered between the open square and the hall. The pillars and their arches were made of blocks of travertine faced with marble; some of these towards the Temple of Saturn have been preserved in a badly injured condition, but a specimen on the Via Sacra has been walled up again. A representation upon one of the marble panels from the *rostra* (p. 364) gives us a view of the construction of the northern hall, and in it we may perceive that the keystones of the arches were adorned with heads, an addition which has not been attended to in any of the modern reconstructions. Whether the outer halls of this five-aisled edifice also had an upper story cannot be made out; it is not impossible that these outer halls may be really the portico mentioned together with the Basilica Julia in the Monumentum Ancyranum, the stone-engraved register of the deeds and buildings of Augustus; this portico would have formed an equivalent for the balconies—by that time pulled down—which had existed over the old stalls and were called *Mæniana* from the name of the man who built them. The vaulting of the aisles of the Basilica Julia can still be made out in the north-west corner, and fragments of stucco still cling to the vault at that part. On the other hand, the central space (fig. 19)—82 metres long and 16 metres wide—was unquestionably covered by a flat, panelled, wooden ceiling, such as was afterwards imitated in Christian basilicas, and may be studied at

the present day in S. Maria Maggiore, for instance. The pavement, still distinctly recognisable, was made of white marble flags in the aisles, and in the



FIG. 19.—Interior of the Basilica Julia (reconstruction by Von Caille)

central hall of specimens of costly stones: cipollino, pavonazetto, and yellow and African marbles. Sometimes boards for games are found scratched into the stones, and of these some have mottoes such as: "You will win and then you will rejoice; you will lose and then you will lament." Some "rascal, not ashamed

to play dice even in the Forum," as Cicero says, engraved a similar dictum upon the stones of the Forum of Thamugadi, in Numidia: "Hunting and bathing, playing and laughing, make up real life."

Here and there in the Basilica Julia we find poorer materials employed, a circumstance which illustrates our information about the history of the building. Cæsar had begun the work in 54 B.C.; but though it had been provisionally consecrated, it was left unfinished at his death. It was completed by Augustus, who perhaps enlarged the building, which was bounded on the west by the Vicus Jugarius, a little towards the east and extended it over the Cloaca Maxima to the Vicus Tuscus. We hear at a late date (A.D. 377) of a restoration of the building by the city prefect Gabinius Vettius Probianus; inscriptions upon pedestals say that he also adorned the basilica with statues. Later on, in the eighth century, a church was erected in the western aisle; soon the great building began to be exploited for building purposes, and its squared blocks of travertine still attracted the masters of the Renaissance. Bramante used them for the palace of the Cardinal di Corneto (the Giraud-Torlonia Palace in the Piazza Scosacavalli). Even the foundations of the pillars were in some cases dug up from deep in the ground; it was not until the remains were laid bare in the nineteenth century that all the pillars were built up to the height of a metre with bricks, in order to make the ground plan clearer. No traces of the upper story are left, and only a remnant of a stair in the western part. The flat roof of the side aisle formed, for a short time, part of the bridge which Caligula caused to be built from the

Palatine to the Capitoline, and from which he used to amuse himself by throwing coins to the people ; according to tradition thirty-two men and two hundred and forty-seven women were crushed to death on one of these occasions.

Except for the simple quadrilateral rooms built on at the south side, no doubt for trading purposes, the whole regular construction is not varied by any out-building or apse-shaped tribunal. And yet it was something more than a sort of hall of exchange and resort of idlers whom the sun or the rain might drive out of the open Forum into the shelter of the hall. We hear of assemblies of the *Centum Viri*, who, when they held united meetings, altered their four tribunals into one, with room for one hundred and eighty judges. The appropriate furniture was probably made of wood, and portable. On such days the people thronged around the central hall and filled the galleries, as Pliny the Younger describes from personal observation. It is recorded of Trajan, too, that he pronounced judgment here.

THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.—A few steps from the Basilica Julia carry us across the *Vicus Tuscus* to the ruins of one of the most beautiful temples in the Forum, that dedicated to the *DioscURI*, but generally known—as it was among the ancients—by the name of the Temple of Castor.

In age it comes near the Temple of Saturn. When Aulus Postumius, the Roman dictator, was hard pressed by the Latins at the battle of Lake Regillus (496 B.C.), he prayed to the *DioscURI* for aid ; the youths came to his assistance, and on his return to

Rome the general began to erect the temple which he had vowed to them, on the spot where the youths had appeared, on the evening of the day of battle, to announce the victory, and had watered their steeds at the well of Juturna at the foot of the Palatine Hill. The son of Postumius finished the building in the year 484. We must conceive it as constructed in the Etruscan shape, the *cella* upon a high foundation and with a large portico, which, however, would have only four columns widely interspaced and a wooden entablature. Nothing is known of the fortunes of this building until the year 117 B.C. At that time L. Cæcilius Metellus restored it, and adorned the interior with pictures and statues; the portrait of a courtesan, Flora, was also to be admired here. The outer walls were a favourite spot for hanging bronze tablets of laws and contracts. The building was standing in this condition in Cicero's time, when Verres took upon himself to straighten the columns that had got out of the perpendicular and to cover their shafts—which were of tufa or peperino—with fresh white stucco.

But though the building was roomy enough for its *cella* often to have held the sittings of the Senate, its appearance perhaps began to be considered out of harmony with the splendour of the new public buildings which were beginning, under Cæsar and Augustus, to surround this eastern end of the Forum. On the left of the temple had arisen the Basilica Julia, and opposite was the shrine of the deified Cæsar himself, together with the triumphal arch of Augustus. So, just as Metellus had once built the temple anew out of the spoils of the Dalmatians, Tiberius now formed (in the year 6 B.C.) the plan of rebuilding the shrine of

the Dioscuri with the proceeds of the spoil which the German campaigns had brought in (fig. 20). Whether he retained any portion of the substructure of the older temple, and, if so, what portion this was, is now unknown. This substructure consists of a closely knit mass of brickwork, faced by a wall of tufa still visible, especially



FIG. 20.—The Temple of Castor.

on the western side. At the points where the columns of the *cella* rise from this substructure, pillars of travertine (still visible on the east) project and are spanned by flat arches; excessive precaution was thus taken to make the superstructure safe; there was evidently a determination to avoid such eventualities as had arisen in the time of Verres. The facing of tufa and travertine round the brick core of the building was not, however,

the visible exterior of the work, but was concealed from sight by a casing of Pentelic marble with elegant cornice and base. Where this base is still visible between the projections of the pillars we remark deeply worn thresholds, and may fairly surmise that here, closed by bronze doors, were the entrances to those chamber-like cellars, beneath the colonnade, which served as banking vaults for the Treasury, places of deposit for private persons and also to preserve the standards of weight and measure. Bronze weights are not infrequently found bearing the inscription: "*ex (actum) ad Castor (is ædem)*," that is to say, "checked at the temple of Castor."

Before the front of the temple stands the brick core of the great outer flight of steps. Investigations have lately proved that this temple-entrance, which is often mentioned in the history of Rome, departed from the normal shape. It was used on several occasions not only as a platform for an orator, but even as a barricade, first by Sulla when he was attacked by the adherents of Marius, and afterwards by Clodius in his conflict with Cicero's party. The building would serve that purpose all the better if the steps did not lead directly to the street but to a podium with a perpendicular front, which was perhaps decorated with *rostra* like other tribunes in the Forum. Small flights of steps at the sides gave entrance from below to this podium and to the broad main flight which was flanked by broad parapets; these may possibly have been adorned by statues of the Dioscuri. After ascending the steps to the new building of Tiberius, the spectator beheld, not the bare construction of the old Etruscan shrine, but a splendid edifice after the

Greek pattern, matched by few in Rome. The deep portico had eight columns in front (fig. 21), and a row of eleven columns ran down each side of the whole building, which thus being octa-style, gave an example rare in Roman architecture of a peripteral building. Two more columns stood in the portico

before the antæ, that is, the projecting angles of the *cella*, and other columns adorned the inner walls of the *cella*.

This arrangement is chiefly explained to us by the Capito-



FIG. 21.—The Temple of Castor (reconstruction by O. Richter: "Topographie").

line plan of the city; only three columns—the fourth to the sixth on the east side—are left standing with their entablature. The Corinthian capital with its coiling volutes and intermediate foliage, the epistyle, in three divisions with a richly decorated middle member, the cornice with kymation, tooth-moulding and console, and the moulding with lions' heads are among the most eagerly studied bits of Roman architecture. It remains, indeed, an open question whether

all this belonged to Tiberius's building or possibly to a restoration made under Hadrian towards the end of the first century. Everything within the *cella* is destroyed except the remains of a mosaic pavement, which is sometimes ascribed to the building of Metellus and sometimes to that of Tiberius; a marble pavement which was laid over it later on has disappeared. The pedestals at the back part of the *cella* which bore the statues of the Dioscuri are also destroyed; that they did not stand close together is shown by the tale of Caligula, who had a door cut in the back wall so that he might stand between the images of the two gods to demand worship, deeming himself to be greater than the Dioscuri, of whom he liked to speak as the door-keepers of his house. Finally the spectator will find enjoyment in picturing to himself how the 5000 Roman knights used to go in procession, in gleaming armour and purple robes, with crowns of olive on their heads, to make solemn sacrifices, on the 27th of January, the anniversary of the temple's dedication.

SHRINE OF JUTURNA.—Excavations recently made after the demolition of the church of S. Maria Liberatrice in the immediate vicinity of the Temple of Castor, have led to the discovery of the well of Juturna, already mentioned, and of a shrine, like a chapel, near by (fig. 22); the only matters of interest to the history of art in this discovery are the mutilated statues of the Dioscuri, who are represented standing beside their horses.

A few steps farther south we come to ancient buildings of which the Church early took possession, altering them into places of Christian worship (S. Maria

Antiqua and S. Silvestro al Lago). The earlier and larger, in which much remains as it was in the early days of the Church, such as the places for the choir, the barriers, the altar, and a number of wall paintings, was probably founded in the library adjoining the Temple of Augustus, the interior arrangement of which would easily accord with the three-aisled, basilica-like shape of the church, its altar and side chapels, and its wide vestibule. Of the actual Temple of Augustus which adjoins the church on one side, only strong and very high

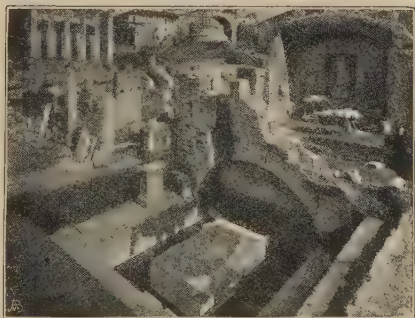


FIG. 22.—The Spring of Juturna.

outer walls remain; the inner disposition of the building is difficult to make out (fig. 23).

THE TEMPLE OF VESTA.—We turn northward again towards the Forum and before entering it, through the scanty remains of a triumphal arch of Augustus, pause a moment in the sanctuary of Vesta, whose temple with the house of the Vestals is near the Temple of Castor, on the east. Here we stand upon ground sacred from extremely ancient times. Tradition referred the establishment of the worship of

Vesta, like many other religious institutions, to Numa Pompilius. It was a worship without images, and centred round the hearth with the fire that was never suffered to be extinguished. At first a mere hut with an open roof enclosed this altar-hearth, and this original circular form was retained in the artistic stone building of later days, one of the early and always rare examples of round temples in Rome. We can only,



FIG. 23.—The Temple of Augustus.

nowadays, reconstitute the edifice on paper, but the badly shattered remains, taken in conjunction with representations upon coins and reliefs, give a sufficient clue to make the restoration of the main lines certain.

The circular sub-structure which has partly lost its facing, shows that the temple was not surrounded on all sides by steps, but was accessible only by a flight on the eastern side, leading to the top of the sub-structure, which was about 14 metres in diameter. Upon this rose the *cella* with its outer row of fluted Corinthian columns, probably twenty in number, and apparently connected by a grating. In the architectural history of this temple repeated conflagrations play a great part; the remains of the super-structure belong to the last restoration by Julia

Domna at the end of the second century of the Christian era. The building was still standing almost intact in the days of the Renaissance.

The domain sacred to Vesta was not confined to the sanctuary; a grove adjoined it and extended to the house of the priestesses, who, not being permitted to pass beyond the walls of the city, could thus enjoy a piece of nature here amid the surrounding buildings. These, in the course of centuries, drew nearer and nearer to the domain of the goddess; at first only the house of the Pontifex Maximus was its immediate neighbour on the north, but before long the towering palaces of the Emperors on the slope of the Palatine so reduced the grove that by degrees it quite disappeared, and the remembrance of it only lived on in a garden surrounded by colonnades, a rectangular enclosure of about 70 metres long by 24 wide, the so-called Atrium of Vesta, which nowadays stands (fig. 24) surrounded by bare brick walls and looking as though it had been ransacked. We enter it near the east side of the Temple by a door in the north-west corner, where the remains of a so-called *ædicula* are visible on the outer wall of the building. The arcades of the court are still adorned by marble statues of the maiden priestesses, with interesting, expressive features and priestly head-gear; the marble pedestals reveal their names and functions. Through the doors on both sides we behold rooms of various shapes, the former purpose of which in the household can in some cases be gathered from their fittings; and we can easily discern that there was an upper story. The projecting part of the house was at the narrow eastern end; here opened the broad central hall, which corresponded in

a measure to the *Tablinum* of a private house; six smaller apartments, once richly faced with marble, have access from it. Such fragments as still remain belong, as the stamp on the bricks betrays, to the later times of antiquity; Hadrian had the house rebuilt, and some few decades later the consort of Septimius Severus,



FIG. 24.—The House of the Vestals.

Julia Domna, restored the building after the fire under Commodus.

THE TEMPLE OF CÆSAR.—If we come out of the *Atrium Vestæ* into the open air to continue our wanderings along the east and north sides of the Forum, we next find ourself facing some scanty ruins of walls, and to the left of these a shattered building of brick, the substructure of a temple. These are the miserable

remains of the shrine to the deified Cæsar, while the line of wall, which scarcely shows above the ground, reveals to us the position and shape of the Regia, the official dwelling of the Pontifex Maximus, which bore on its outer walls the long lists of consuls and *triumphatores*. Only a conjectural reconstruction is

possible, though of the Temple of Cæsar one can be given with approximate certainty (fig. 25). One or two points peculiar in the history of art make it worth while to pause a moment at this Temple. The high substructure



FIG. 25.—The Temple of Cæsar (O. Richter's reconstruction; "Topographie der Stadt Rom").

can still be easily recognised among the ruins, and the peculiarities in the arrangement of the stairs soon reveal themselves. These stairs are divided by a high podium, which is itself hollowed out in the middle to form a semicircular niche. In this niche stood an altar; the platform above, of which the perpendicular front wall was decorated with prows of ships in memory of the sea-fight at Actium, was the substitute erected by Augustus

in place of the Rostra Julia, or hustings which Cæsar had put up here at the east end of the Forum. At the height of this podium, a pathway went along the longer sides of the temple ; up to the present time we know of only one similar case in the Temple of the Capitol at Timgad, in Algiers. There remained only a square space for the *cella* and its portico, so that the former could be only half as deep as it was wide. The Ionic columns of the outer hall were set close together, the intervening spaces being only one and a half times the diameter of the shaft of the column. Vitruvius in his "Architecture," which was written about the time of the building of this temple, includes it in the class of so-called *Pyknostyloi*, or close-columned temples.

THE TEMPLE OF FAUSTINA.—The last of the sanctuaries erected in the Forum, or to speak more precisely close to it, was the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (fig. 26). The inscription on the architrave of the porch allows us to perceive that its lower line is the older, and originally stood alone. Antoninus built the edifice in remembrance of his wife Faustina, who died in A.D. 141 ; the upper portion of the dedicatory inscription was added after his death twenty years later. At what period the temple fell into decay is not known ; the Church established itself in the ruin, and subsequently—the ancient building not having been essentially altered during the Middle Ages—put up the baroque gable over the front wall of the *cella*. The latter has still kept part of its stone walls, as well as a frieze with a mediocære decoration of griffins and

candelabra (fig. 27); this is supported in the porch by six columns in front and two at the side. The material of the monolithic Corinthian columns is veined, greyish-green marble, the so-called Cipollino. Of the high outer steps, between their projecting parapets, only insignificant fragments remain. As coins and the founda-



FIG. 26.—Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

tion of the temple still show, an altar stood on the lower part of the steps, which were shut off by a balustrade from the Via Sacra. Representations upon coins also give us a general impression of the figures adorning the pediment and acroteria, and the parapets of the stairs.

BASILICA ÆMILIA.—Quite recent excavations have brought to light remains of the Basilica

Æmilia, on the left of the Temple of Faustina, but they are at present so covered up with rubbish that the ground-plan of the building cannot yet be determined (fig. 28). All that can be perceived is that one of its longer sides was turned towards the Forum, and that there were colonnades on the outside of the main building; the columns which have been set upright again in modern days belong to a



FIG. 27.—Entablature of the Temple of Faustina.

comparatively late period. Shops nestled in between the outer halls and the main central building, which, besides its own large hall, had colonnades of African marble. Here also, as in the Basilica Julia,

there were originally shops, and behind them was the little Basilica Fulvia, founded in 179 B.C., which had preceded the edifice of Æmilius Paulus; the latter dated from 54 B.C., and its reconstructions from 34 and 14 B.C. The last building was distinguished for great splendour. What connection there was between the basilica and a ruin in the Doric style, which Antonio da San Gallo drew as late as the sixteenth century, is, for the present, uncertain; probably it adorned the western end of the building.

ARGILETUM, COMITIUM AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS.—

The western boundary of this basilica was the Argiletum, one of the principal lines of connection between the Forum and the north-eastern parts of the city. On the other side of this street began the open area of the Comitium, the direction and boundaries of which were considerably shifted in Cæsar's time.

During the Republican period, the front of the area faced pretty nearly due south, and so was placed obliquely to the Forum; on the borderline of the two stood the orators' platform, and



FIG. 28.—The Basilica Æmilia.

close by the Græcostasis, which was perhaps the space reserved for ambassadors from foreign states, like the diplomatists' galleries in our modern parliaments. In the back part of the Comitium once rose the Curia, which bore the additional name of Hostilia, and adjacent to it the first basilica, that of M. Porcius Cato (185 B.C.). Even by the time of the Empire, none of these edifices was left, except the very ancient Carcer, erected at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, and known in the middle period of its existence by the further name

of Mamertinus. It was the state prison of Rome, and Christian tradition gave it a sort of ecclesiastical sanctification by connecting the imprisonment of Peter with this building. It was thereby preserved from destruction, and has continued to exist—though its construction was modified a little in ancient times—down to the present day. It is a building with circular ground plan, roofed with layers of stone, which were not wedge-shaped, but were laid horizontally; it was originally a bee-hive-shaped dome, the like of which may be found, not only among the Latins in their primitive stage of civilisation (as in the well at Tusculum), but also, for example, in the tombs of the Mycenæan period in Greece. It was as a well-house, the Tullianum, that the building was founded, under the kings; afterwards, a floor was put in, half-way up, and the roof of the domed upper space altered. Prisoners were let down into the lower room through a hole in the floor, and the damp chill was such as to draw from Jugurtha the exclamation, “By Heracles, Romans, how cold your bath is!” The companions of Catiline, too, ended their history here. In Cæsar’s time the shape of the Comitium changed; the *rostra* and the Græcostasis were moved farther forward into the Forum; the old Curia was pulled down, and a new one was built farther westward, with a south-west front, near the Argiletum. This building, completed by Augustus in the year 29 B.C., was restored by Domitian, and later on by Diocletian, after a fire. The façade and part of its side are still preserved in the Church of S. Adriano; the pillared porch before the entrance door may yet be recognised in old representations. An enclosed court, the Atrium

Minervæ, which afterwards had to give place to the Via Bonella, connected the Curia with the Secretarium Senatus, its neighbour on the west, of which the place is filled by the church of SS. Luca e Martina.

The most recent excavations in the Comitium are rather of archæological than of especially artistic interest; in the course of them, and of those in the Forum itself, old graves belonging to the period of the kings, and monuments of uncertain purpose have come to light. Beneath the black pavement belonging to the times of the Cæsars, which has now been raised and beneath which the grave of Romulus was believed, in the later days of antiquity, to be hidden, have been found bases with bevelled edges, which probably bore figures of reposing lions, a cone made of stone, and a four-sided block with an old Latin inscription which has not yet been fully deciphered.

THE ROSTRA.—The old tribune for speakers, displaced by the Curia Julia, had been erected afresh in the year 42 B.C. at the west end of the Forum; but the low pillared arches laid bare at the foot of the steps of the Temple of Saturn are not to be supposed to belong to that tribune, they are but the viaduct-like substructure of the *Clivus* or hillside, which was widened out at this point when the temple was rebuilt (see illustration, fig. 17, p. 340). Of the tribune restored in Hadrian's time, considerable remains are left; they are to be found on the east of those arcades, towards the Arch of Severus, and consist of a *podium* 24 metres long and 10 wide. The holes in which the brass beaks of ships were fixed are still visible on the front. The parapets or balustrades of the narrower

sides once held the marble panels, with their splendid reliefs, which now stand isolated in the Forum; they are works of the age of Trajan (figs. 29, 30). A further clue to the reconstruction of the Rostra is afforded by a relief on the Arch of Constantine.

Triumphal columns, adorned with statues, such as appear here on the Rostra, also formed an ornament of the Forum itself. The one still standing



FIG. 29.—Marble Balustrade of the Rostra.

on a high pedestal of steps, in the immediate neighbourhood of this spot, was adorned in the year 608 A.D. by the præfect of the city, Smaragdus, with a statue of the Emperor Phocas, and a

flattering inscription relates the circumstance; pedestals, in masonry, of other columns remain along the Via Sacra, and some of the old columns have been set up upon them; one base in the middle of the square seems to indicate an equestrian statue. Upon the sculptured panels mentioned above may still be identified the Ruminian fig-tree, which was miraculously transported to the Forum, and the statue of Marsyas, that ancient paladin of the city, whose statues also adorned provincial towns endowed with rights of

Italian citizenship, such for example as Thamugadi in Africa. Very few remains, on the other hand, have been preserved of the Umbilicus Romæ, a cone-shaped monument erected, as a counterpart to the Miliarium aureum, at the southern base of the Arch of Severus, on the left of the curved terrace which, at the beginning of the third century, was shoved in between the Rostra and the Clivus Capitolinus, and adorned with a colonnade.

ARCH OF SEP- TIMIUS SEVER- US.

— The columns mentioned above were not the only triumphal monuments in the Forum. To them must

be added the far more impressive triumphal arches. All but one are gone; only fragments remain of the Arch of Tiberius, at the base of the Temple of Saturn, and of the Arch of Augustus, near to the Temple of Cæsar; of the Arch of the Fabii, which was near the Regia, not even these remain. On the other hand, the Arch of Septimius Severus is still standing in all its power and impressiveness (fig. 31). Nothing is missing except the six-horsed chariot of bronze and the other statues which crowned it and are still



FIG. 30.—Marble Balustrade of the Rostra.

to be seen upon coins. The monument was erected, according to the testimony of its inscription, in the year 203, to the Emperor and his sons Antoninus (*i.e.* Caracalla) and Geta, in memory of the victories gained on the eastern frontier of the empire over the Parthians, Arabians and Adiabeni. When Caracalla had caused



FIG. 31.—The Arch of Septimius Severus.

his brother to be murdered, he gave orders to expunge his name wherever it appeared, and it was replaced in this inscription by other words (*optimis fortissimisque principibus*).

The Roman triumphal arch is here seen in its richest shape, a massive edifice of marble 23 metres high, having three arched passages through it, accessible on the east side by steps, the lower side

arches again having arched openings into the central one. In front of the great pier project ornamental columns upon high pedestals, the architrave being pushed forward at right angles over these columns, in order to follow their line of projection from the building. Then, as a finish, follows a horizontal superstructure, the *attica*, of which the longer piece is entirely occupied by the inscription. The parts of the walls above the entrances form five bands of decoration in relief, principally illustrations of the Emperor's campaigns, and furnish a striking testimony to the failing artistic powers of the period. The composition and the single figures are alike unpleasing, and examination of them is all the more difficult because they are severely weather-beaten.

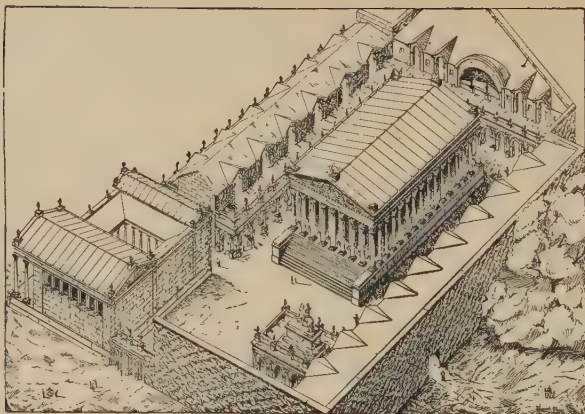


FIG. 32.—The Forum of Julius Cæsar (reconstruction by Chr. Hülsen, after Schneider: "Das alte Rom").

III

THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS AND THE CAPITOL

THE FORUM OF CÆSAR.—The name of Julius Cæsar clings to many buildings in the Forum; he moved the Rostra into it, while the Curia and Basilica Julia bear his name. But his care was not expended solely upon the great Forum; the range of minor or Imperial Fora originated with a creation of Cæsar's (fig. 32). He began that great enlargement of the space dedicated in the centre of the city to public life and the worship of gods and Emperors, an enlargement which in the course of a century and a half quadrupled the open space and

created a series of magnificent public buildings—colon-naded squares, temples and basilicas—such as even Constantinople itself could not display, so that the rulers of the latter city walked amazed amid these wondrous works of the old capital.

The Forum of Cæsar, rectangular in shape, was placed in the populous quarter behind the Curia, and the land on which it stood had to be purchased at immense cost (about £850,000, or £7 per square metre). Porticoes ran along the sides, and shops stood outside of them, while in the centre arose the temple of Venus Genetrix, to whom Cæsar traced back his family, through Æneas. It was a splendid edifice in the Corinthian style, having eight columns in front and porticoes with closely set columns all round. In addition to the statue of Venus by Arcesilaus, various works of art were displayed in the *cella*, among them paintings by Timomachus and six collections of engraved gems. Palladio, in his four books of architecture, has left us a picture of the ruins as he saw them in the sixteenth century.

THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS. —

As the Forum of Cæsar resembled a precinct enclosing a temple, such as we may still see, for instance, in the Temple of Apollo at Pompei, so also did the next three Imperial Fora. The Via Bonella, which crosses the eastern portion of the Forum of Cæsar from S. Adriano almost as far as the Via del Priorato, crosses also the Forum of Augustus lengthwise, passing somewhat to the east of its central axis. This Forum, mainly rectangular, extended from the

Forum of Cæsar towards the north, where the immense wall of peperino, originally 36 metres high, which now borders on the Via Tor de' Conti, ends it in an irregular line. The en-



FIG. 33.—Walls of the Forum of Augustus.

ormous cost of the land, and a reluctance to displace too many private buildings, gave rise to these irregularities, while the dangerous vicinity of a quarter which often suffered from fires occasioned the height and strength of the end wall (fig. 33). Towards the northern end the sides pass into a half circle, an interesting variation of the ground plan which was to be often repeated, the neighbouring Forum of

Trajan being one example. The monotonous walls of each great apse were broken by several niches for statues, and a row of columns, alternating with piers, ran straight across the inner side. Here were placed the many statues to Roman conquerors of the race of Æneas which Augustus caused to be erected and

which were furnished with *Elogia*, or explanatory and eulogistic inscriptions. We must imagine the ruins of the eastern apse, now bare, as enlivened by these plastic decorations, and by other adornments (fig. 34).

The fragments of the temple, which is the one dedicated during the battle of Philippi to Mars the

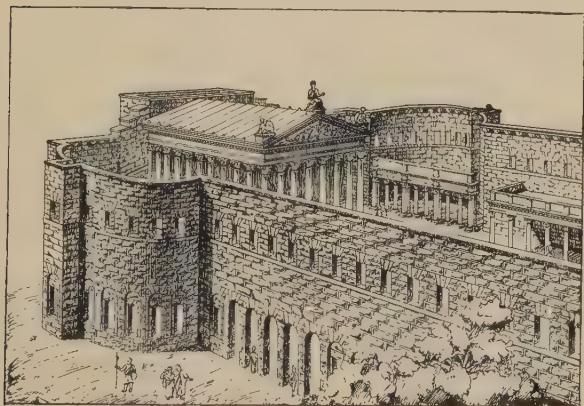


FIG. 34.—The Forum of Augustus (reconstruction by Chr. Hülsen Schneider: "Das alte Rom").

Avenger, demand the help of our imagination to reconstruct them (fig. 35). Remains of the *cella*, which extended into an apse at the end, and a portion of the row of columns on the east side are still standing, but we must imagine the deep porch, with its eight columns, on the south side; the edifice was flanked by the triumphal arches of Drusus and Germanicus. It was one of the most magnificent buildings in Rome, and, as an example of the brilliant period of Roman

architecture, its ruins, scanty and mutilated though they are, deserve detailed attention. The formation of the capitals, the richly ornamented ceiling of the colonnade, and the marble facing of the *cella* should



FIG. 35.—Temple of Mars Ultor.

be observed. As in the Temples of Vespasian and of Concord, a base supporting columns ran round the *cella* and statues stood in the intercolumniations. Pliny particularly relates how carefully the materials were selected; for the timbers of the roof, for example, only wood from the Rhætian Alps was employed which had been cut in the dog-

days and at special conjunction of the stars—a precaution which, according to the belief of those days, was a guarantee of special durability. The dovetailed wooden pegs in the outer wall, which seem as though petrified, still bear witness to this care. With the architectural construction of the temple corresponded the splendour of the works of art

which adorned its interior. Mars and Venus were enthroned in the niche-shaped background of the *cella*; beside the admired pictures of Apelles representing the triumphs of Alexander, were displayed splendid vessels of metal and relics, such as Cæsar's sword. This sanctuary was, like other temples, the scene of many solemn ceremonies, such as the reception of the *toga virilis* by Imperial princes, and debates of the Senate upon peace and war; here also conquerors at their triumphs dedicated wreath and sceptre to the god of war (fig. 36).

The high sub-structure of the



FIG. 36.—The Fora of the Emperors, after Richter: "Topographie der Stadt Rom."

temple was also used for practical purposes, as was the case with the Temple of Castor and elsewhere. Here, as there, standard weights and measures were kept, and the priests likewise kept a bank deposit, which, however, together with the helmet of the god himself, once fell into the hands of thieves, notwithstanding the fact that the especial care of the sanctuary was entrusted to the senate. It remains to be mentioned that at the solemn processions of the Salii, or priests of Mars, this temple formed their last *mansio*, and here, as at the other stations of the procession, a luxurious meal was prepared, the fumes of which once induced the Emperor Claudius, who was sitting in judgment in the Forum, to adjourn the proceedings in order that he might share the proverbially excellent banquet of the Salii.

The secondary purpose of the Forum of Augustus was, as appears from this story and from other records, the hearing of legal cases which, owing to their increase, could no longer be heard in the great Forum. The Forum Julium had also been intended by Cæsar for this usage, but the next succeeding Forum, that of Vespasian, had no such purpose.

THE FORUM OF VESPASIAN.—We seek in vain at the present day for any fragment of this construction, which Pliny reckoned as one of the four greatest works of art in the city, the other three being the Forum of Augustus, the Basilica Æmilia and the Circus; but the glorious series of imperial Fora would be incomplete if we did not briefly attempt to give some idea of this Forum too. The official name of the foundation was at first the Temple of Peace, which

Vespasian consecrated in A.D. 71, and completed three years later, in celebration of the conquest of Judea. Besides numerous works of art of Greek origin, part of which had previously adorned Nero's golden house, the new temple also contained the golden booty from the Temple of Jerusalem; the seven-branched candlestick, the table of shew-bread and the trumpets were kept here, and their appearance is still known to us from the reliefs on the Arch of Titus. Porticoes surrounded the square of the temple, which was bounded on the west by the Argiletum, while its southern limit abutted on the back wall of the Templum Urbis (SS. Cosma and Damiano); upon this wall was nailed the marble plan of the city executed under Vespasian. The eastern end touched the north-east corner of the Basilica of Constantine.

THE FORUM OF NERVA.—That important channel of traffic, the Argiletum, the course of which nearly corresponded to that of the Via della Croce bianca, was included in the range of imperial Fora by Vespasian's son, Domitian. The new foundation was not ready to be consecrated until the year 97, under his successor Nerva, whose name it accordingly bears together with the alternative designation, *Forum transitorium*, on account of its having retained, in the main, the character of a thoroughfare, with 100 metres of length to only a little over 35 in breadth. At the northern end stood a six-columned temple to Minerva, the ruins of which are known to us from drawings of the sixteenth century, while its ground plan is indicated on the marble map in the Capitol (see reconstruction, fig. 2, p. 1).

Pope Paul V. has the melancholy honour of having completely destroyed this precious memorial, for the sake



FIG. 37.—Remains of Forum of Nerva.

of his Acqua Paola on the Janiculus. We can still recognise the peculiarity of the plan of this Forum from

the only remaining fragment of its eastern outer wall at the corner of the Via Alessandrina (fig. 37). The high stone wall had fluted Corinthian columns ranged in front of it at regular intervals (two remaining specimens now stand buried to half their height in the earth); the entablature and high *attica* of the wall project at intervals to meet the columns; the frieze is ornamented by continuous reliefs which declare the praise of the skilful goddess Athene, while her image on a larger scale reappears in the middle of the *attica*. The architectural effect of this sham colonnade, which, owing to the narrow space, would present itself strongly foreshortened to any one approaching it, must have approximated to that of a genuine Portico, such as the other Fora possessed, and doubtless had besides special charms to the eye. To the rich collection of statuary in this Forum—deified Emperors and Empresses, and among them equestrian statues—belonged the figure of Mars, erroneously called Pyrrhus, in the Capitoline Museum (**No. 19** in the ground floor corridor).

THE FORUM OF TRAJAN.—In complete contrast to the scanty proportions of the Forum of Nerva, the narrowness of which, however, was so splendidly mastered, the next Forum, the last of its kind, was to have an extent limited only by the bounds which its designer chose to draw. This was the Forum of Trajan, constructed by one of the last great architects of antiquity, Apollodorus of Damascus.

In extent it is almost equal to all the other Imperial Fora together, and not only had the required land to be purchased, but also the hill which connected the Capitol and the Quirinal had to be

levelled down to about 40 metres and some 800,000 cubic metres of rock and earth carted away. While the Fora of Augustus and Nerva faced from south-west to north-east, the Forum of Trajan followed the direction of the Forum Julium and the Forum of Peace; that is to say, its narrow sides were the south-eastern and north-western. In number and extent of separate parts, Trajan's foundation exceeds all its predecessors. Here we have not merely a colonnaded court with a temple, but an actual Forum once again, suitable for trade and traffic, with a basilica attached to it. Farther on, large buildings for libraries closed the square, in which rose the Emperor's triumphal column; and finally, his successor, Hadrian, crowned the great design by the Temple of *Divus Trajanus*. To bring the south-eastern boundary of this Forum close to the foundation of Augustus was impossible, because of the projecting hemicycle of the latter. The outer wall of Trajan's Forum coincided with the north-west side of the present Via del Priorato, and here was its main entrance in the shape of a triumphal arch, distinguished above many others by its size and splendour. On each side of the entrance, three columns adorned this wide construction, which was further ornamented by statues in niches and medallions in relief, like those which Constantine, who perhaps took them from this monument, let into his arch. The edifice was richly crowned with statues, a six horsed chariot occupying the centre. This use of the triumphal Arch as entrance can be proved in Rome only in this instance of the Forum of Trajan, in the Circus Maximus, and perhaps in front of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine; but in other

towns, specially in Roman Africa, the examples are extraordinarily numerous, both for Fora and for the courts of temples.

When the spectator had passed through this arch, the Forum itself offered him a spectacle which, in the words of an ancient eye-witness, Ammianus Marcellinus, filled him with amazement at the wondrous creation of the human mind; he felt his pen too weak to describe these works which could only be created once in many centuries, and a similar amazement is disclosed, two hundred years later, in the words of Cassiodorus (fig. 38).

What first surprised the eye was the vast square of over 100 metres long and nearly 100 metres wide. It was surrounded by colonnades and its centre was adorned by the equestrian statue of the Emperor. The colonnades were filled by a vast number of statues, in continuation of the series of famous Romans in the Forum of Augustus, each with an inscription setting forth his

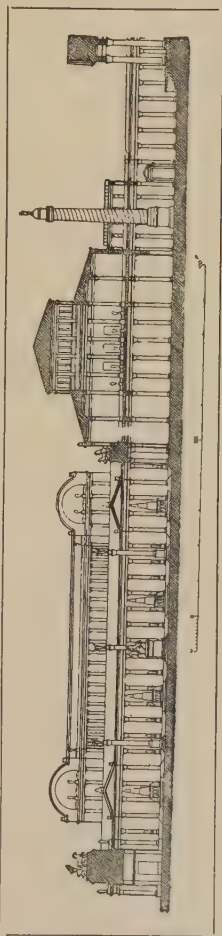


FIG. 38. — The Forum of Trajan (longitudinal section, after Reber).

merits. A stone wall faced with marble formed the back of the portico and enclosed the Forum, but on each side a great apse broadened out consisting of a semicircular portico in front of two-storied niches with Doric pilasters, chambers and pediments. The northern exedra may be seen at the present day and looks like a monumental buttress of the slope of the Quirinal. Gilded statues, horses and trophies procured from the proceeds of booty taken in war adorned the cornice of these niches. The charm which this design had for the architects of the Renaissance is proved by the numerous sketches of the two Sangalli, of Dosio and others.

The Forum was surrounded on three sides only by porticoes, its fourth side was formed by a gigantic construction, the Basilica Ulpia (fig. 39), the five aisles of which traversed the whole width of the Forum at right angles, and opened upon it by three entrances which were divided by columns and had porticoes in front, surmounted by four-horsed chariots. Remains of the three flights of steps, fashioned of yellow marble, which led up to the basilica, may still be recognised in the ruins laid bare on the east side. Such remains of granite columns as have been set up again can only give a general idea of the inner construction of the building, by means of an average sample. We must recollect, moreover, that although some of the pedestals of the columns were found on their original site, some of the shafts do not belong here. Against the façade, and no doubt also around the middle space, stood fluted columns of yellow marble, and certain of these were taken to St Peter's and to the

Lateran. Of the marble pavement, considerable remains were formerly visible, but have since been more or less destroyed ; pedestals, too, belonging to the statues on the outer side of the wall are still preserved, and the reliefs of friezes in the Lateran Museum give a high idea of the building's decorative splen-



FIG. 39.—The Forum of Trajan.

dour (see vol. i., figs. 2 and 79). The roof, as was the case with all the edifices in the Forum of Trajan, was covered with tiles of gilded bronze. Only the central part of the basilica can be seen at the present day, all the rest of the building, which was 89 metres long and 54 metres wide, is still buried. By the help of the Capitoline plan, however, it is possible to distinguish a great hemicycle adjoining it on the

northern side, while scanty remains in a house in the Via di Testa Spaccata show that a similar edifice corresponded to it at the opposite end. In



FIG. 40.—The Forum of Trajan (restoration, after Bühlmann).

regard to the construction of these *exedrae*, we are driven to conjecture; that they had half domed roofs seems scarcely likely. The Capitoline plan shows the inscription *Libertatis* (of Liberty) in the north-easterly apse; whether this refers to the Atrium of Liberty, the site of which is unknown, is uncertain.

In the case of the basilica itself, too, we are reduced to hypothesis on the subject of its upper structure. Perhaps the 96 columns, which surrounded the middle hall in two rows, were matched by a similar number in an upper story; perhaps only the inner aisles had two stories.

The roof of the hall with its breadth of 25 metres was, in any case, among the most imposing of antiquity; the church builders of the fourth century equalled it in the basilica of St Paul in the Via Ostiensis.

The most important structure left in the Forum of Trajan is the Emperor's triumphal column which stands fronting the principal or western entrance of the basilica. Its site was bordered on the east and on the west by two buildings which adjoined the Basilica Ulpia. They each had a portico facing the column, and were intended to receive the one a Greek, the other a Latin library. The most precious of their treasures were kept in numbered cases, and historical records could only be inspected with the permission of the præfect of the city. Celebrated writers were honoured by portraits even during their lifetime, as was Sidonius Apollinaris.

Trajan's column, which has its counterpart in that of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna, is one of the best preserved monuments of imperial Rome. Only the statue of the Emperor, which crowned it, and which appears on coins, has had to give place to that of S. Peter, a work of the sixteenth century. The distinctive note of both columns is the mass of sculptural decoration, which begins at the base with a rich group of trophies, and runs, in the form of a spiral band of continuous reliefs, up the shaft which is crowned by a capital approximating to the Doric in style. We admire the devotion of the unknown artists to a work, the detailed appreciation of which, either by contemporaries or posterity, they must have renounced in anticipation; originally it can have produced only a general effect, heightened though it was by colour, but real enjoyment

and particular study were rendered impossible by the very manner in which the reliefs were applied. Only those who have carefully studied these 200 metres of reliefs with their 2500 and more figures—either in the casts in the Lateran Museum (see vol. i. p. 163), or in some modern publication—can appreciate the high historical value of this work, which represents Trajan's expeditions against the barbarians on the lower Danube.

It only remains to mention that the Forum of Trajan did not receive its required completion until the time of his successor, who built a temple, in a rich and massive style, to the memory of his adopted parents; it stood close to the little square occupied by the great column, where now rise the domes of two churches, with a palazzo between them.

GRAVE OF BIBULUS.—Trajan's foundations had already overstepped the line of the old wall of Servius Tullius; near at hand but, in accordance with immemorial rule, outside the wall, still stands, built into a house in the Via di Marforio, the façade of the tomb of Bibulus, dating from the first century before the Christian era. From a base, with an inscription, rise four Doric pillars, supporting an entablature, the frieze of which is adorned with the *bucranion*, that is to say, with skulls of oxen wreathed with garlands; in the two side spaces are penthouses as though for niches or windows.

THE CAPITOL.—Our wanderings have brought us to the foot of the Capitol on the north side. To mount the hill and inspect the ruins of ancient buildings will repay only the archæologist and the

architect, who can admire, in the garden of the German Embassy, a piece of the substructure of stone blocks belonging to the Temple of Jupiter, which crowned the southern head of the hill. The student of art must be satisfied with remembering that the temple retained its original Etruscan ground plan, from its foundation under the last kings, through all its destructions and rebuildings, down to its final overthrow at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Three deep parallel *cellas* sheltered the statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; that of Jupiter, at first made of clay and painted, was afterwards replaced by a chryselephantine work. A deep portico with three rows of columns stood in front of the *cellas*, and a row of columns ran down each side wall, the back wall remaining unadorned. Very remarkable is the space that was left between the columns; the front, which was, in round numbers, 50 metres wide, had but six columns, so that there were intervals sometimes of about 7, sometimes of about 11 metres. Even with wooden entablature and roof-timbers the construction of the roof must have been a very difficult problem, especially when we consider the additional weight of figures and reliefs in the pediment.

The Temple of Juno, which stood on the northern head of the hill and the lower part of which held the mint, has disappeared and left no trace; gone, likewise, are all the minor shrines of the hill, one of which, for instance, a small round temple to Mars the Avenger, may still be seen on coins. On the other hand, we can still conceive a fairly complete idea of the construction of the Tabularium, which was erected

on the saddle of the hill towards the Forum. Quintus Lutatius Catulus caused the Tabularium to be built in the year 69 B.C., together with the substructure of solid stone blocks, which is 71 metres long, 11 metres high; it used to be hidden by the Temples of Concord and of Vespasian, but now stands once more visible, in all its strength. Instead of a closed building, like the mediæval Palace of the Senator, now standing upon it, this foundation once carried one, or more probably two, rows of open pillared porticoes which adorned the south-eastern wing of a building with central court. It has only been possible to reopen one arcade; from that we must surmise the system of the whole series. It is that which the architects of Roman theatres continually employed on the exterior of their high edifices, and which we have already examined in the Basilica Julia on the Forum.



FIG. 41.—The Basilica of Constantine.

IV

THE VELIA AND ITS VICINITY

As regards impressiveness, none of the ruins of Rome which we have yet examined can compare with those rising east of the Forum, upon the heights of the Velia, and beyond it. The vast masses of the Colosseum and of the Basilica of Constantine bound our view; here rise the remains of the Temple of Venus and Rome and, as a variety of architectural form, triumphal arches stand, almost uninjured, beside them. And yet, among these ruins in particular, many a building requires to be completed by the mind and on paper in order to make its whole design easily comprehensible to the layman.

TEMPLE OF ROMULUS.—As we walk along the Via Sacra between the Temple of Faustina and the House of the Vestals, immediately towards the three arches of the Basilica of Constantine, our eye is caught by a round building on the left, which has side wings, niches, and a porch adorned with columns, and still retains the old doorway in the shallow façade with its niches. The round building has been incorporated with the church behind it of the miraculous physicians, Cosmas and Damianus, ever since Pope Felix IV., in the sixth century, joined together two ancient buildings, of heterogeneous character, into one ecclesiastical edifice. The once separate round building in front was built as a temple to the deified Romulus, son of Maxentius; the long building behind, with its unadorned exterior, which still shows the old stone wall on the east side, once contained the Record Office, and was dedicated under the name of *Templum Sacre Urbis*; to the north-east its back wall adjoined the Forum of Vespasian and bore the marble plan of the city (p. 73); a porch with columns adorned its entrance on the north-western side.

BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.—The area to the east of these buildings was occupied for a time by the extensive spice-magazines (*horrea piperitaria*) which Domitian caused to be erected here: but Maxentius caused a part of them, which had suffered in the fire under Commodus (A.D. 191), to be removed and the basilica to be set up in their stead. Constantine completed it, and the building (which in later days was for some time erroneously designated the Temple of Peace) then assumed his name (fig. 41).

Only a third part of it is standing at the present day, but the ground plan of what has disappeared is everywhere plainly recognisable. The type of the basilica, as we already know it from other examples, is imprinted upon the main lines of this building, though there are considerable deviations from the prevalent scheme. Like the palace-basilicas which we shall see upon the Palatine, and the Christian basilicas which Rome exhibits in the earliest churches, this creation of Maxentius and Constantine shows us how the general order of ancient basilicas was gradually beginning to be divided into a great number of species. The several aisles in the interior and the characteristic upper divisions, with the superior height of the middle part, belong to this building as to the others; but even in the first point it exhibits a peculiarity, the side aisles not being carried all round the higher one, but only down the two long sides. The east end opens directly upon a narrow porch; the west terminates in a wide apse, the tribunal, which was generally divided by the crossway colonnades of the side aisle from the main space.

The difference in construction consists in the fact that, instead of the flat-roofed basilica, we have here a building with a vaulted roof, and one, moreover, of which the proportions are on the largest scale. Owing to the cylindrical and cross-arched vaults, the interior pillars are, on the one hand, greatly strengthened in their form, and, on the other, reduced to a minimum number; in the Basilica Ulpia there were 96 columns, here there are only four piers. From the division of space which conditions a basilica, the greatest possible stride is here made towards unity of space.

The length of the building is 90, the breadth 65 metres. The side aisles are each covered at right angles to the middle space by a barrel vault of over 20 metres span and full 17 metres length, rising in the centre to a height of $24\frac{1}{2}$ metres. They rest upon strong transverse walls, the broad, round-arched openings of which connect the three vaulted divisions and form them into a continuous side aisle. The middle aisle, which is 5 metres wider than the others, was roofed over by three groined vaults, 35 metres in height, the spring of which on the northern side aisle still remains, together with the supporting walls which meet the sideways thrust of the vault, and which are pierced by openings. To each pillar of the roof in the middle aisle was prefixed a column with projecting entablature; the last one, which was still here in the seventeenth century, and which had a fluted shaft of Proconnessus marble and stood nearly 20 metres high, was removed and set up before the Church of S. Maria Maggiore. In order to conceive the relative dimensions of this colossal building we may compare its restored section in the adjoining illustration (fig. 42) with that of Cologne Cathedral. Anyone who desires to realise the general effect of the interior should visit the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli, which preserves the main apartment of the Baths of Diocletian. The comparison of this interior with the basilica of Constantine is instructive in yet another particular. Both are originally distinctively longitudinal spaces. The basilica of Constantine at first had its entrances, five in number, only on its narrow eastern end, which had a long porch. Opposite, the central apartment widened into a large apse, the lower part of which, walled up in modern times, is still visible.

It was shortly resolved, however, to give the interior a different direction, by forming new entrances with steps and a portico of porphyry columns in the middle of the south side, where the Via Sacra passes by. A necessary consequence of this proceeding was to provide a new terminal point towards the north, the interior of the building being now seen in that aspect by those who entered it; the middle division of the

northern side aisle was therefore furnished with an apse similar to that at the west end of the building. The same occurs, with some deviations in

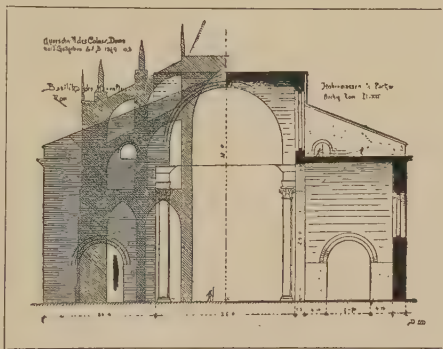


FIG. 42.—Section of the Basilica of Constantine, after Durm.

form, at S. Maria degli Angeli, where the chief altar, intended at first to be on the west, has been transferred to an enlargement in the middle of the north side. Such detail as remains of the basilica of Constantine plainly bespeaks the artistic style of a late period approaching decadence.

TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME.—

Ascending the Via Sacra in an easterly direction, a few

steps bring us to the artificially levelled area of the temple dedicated to Venus and Rome, with which Hadrian covered a part of the site of Nero's Golden House (fig. 43). Only the colossal statue of the Sun-god was spared by the Emperor, inasmuch as he set it up again, farther to the east, upon a pedestal which is still visible.

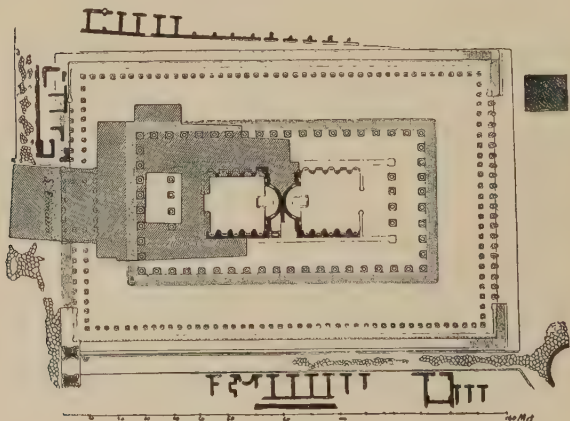


FIG. 43.—Temple of Venus and Rome, after Reber.

The space, part of which was artificially raised, is 166 metres long by 100 wide ; it was enclosed by colonnades, some of the fragments of which are still lying on the ground. In the centre arose the double temple itself. The design thus resembled those of the imperial fora ; but Hadrian did not choose to make a complete forum here ; perhaps he regarded the old, great Forum, of which he had in part restored the buildings, as his. This double temple of his outshone all previous

sacred edifices in two particulars. For one thing, it presented the unique example of a double temple in which two *cellas* were joined back to back under one roof, and, for another, the roof rested upon a colonnade which, differing from all previous temples, showed ten columns at each end, while the columns down the sides were removed by double the width of their



FIG. 44.—Ruins of the Temple of Venus and Rome.

interspaces from the walls of the *cella*; in technical terms the temple was a pseudo-dipteros decastyle.

The *cellas*, furnished with a deep porch, were each approximately square; each ended in a niche, and their roofs were vaulted (fig. 44). Only the two niches and a part of the side walls have been preserved; the latter with their cassetted vaulting can be best studied in the court behind the Church of S. Francesca Romana. Niches are sunk into the walls; they were

once enlivened by statues, and columns decorated the wall between. The materials were the richest conceivable; porphyry adorned the interior, and slabs of marble covered the outer walls. The plan of the building was drawn by the dilettante Emperor himself; his predecessor's chief architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, is said to have paid with his life for an observation censuring the statues of the deities as too large for the temple. It appears, however, as though Hadrian had paid heed both to this objection and to another which declared the temple to require a higher foundation than that shown in the Emperor's sketch.

THE ARCH OF TITUS.—In the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, on the west and south, across the Via Sacra, which here, on the top of the Velia, bore the name of Summa Sacra Via, are unidentified ruins. We know that the Temple of Jupiter Stator stood here, and appeared as it does, hastily sketched perhaps, on a relief of the tomb of the Haterii, in the Lateran Museum. The Arch of Titus, however, which in the Middle Ages was built into a fortress of the Frangipani, and restored in the beginning of the nineteenth century by Valadier, has been preserved. It is an arch of the simplest form, with a single doorway; the half columns, which take the place of whole columns in its decoration, stand upon a plain, solid base; their capitals are of the composite order, an attempt being perhaps made here for the first time to combine the Ionic and Corinthian orders. The decoration of the monument, whether figures or ornaments, is rich and delicate; even the keystone of the arch is adorned

with a figure of the soaring goddess of victory, standing almost free from the background. The two reliefs of the entrance which narrate the occasion of the arch's erection, namely, the triumph of Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem, are universally known.

Artistically these panels occupy a pre-eminent place in the series of Roman reliefs; one being of particular historical importance, because it represents certain spoils of Jerusalem, mentioned before in connection with the Temple



FIG. 45.—The Arch of Titus.

of Peace; among these the seven-branched candlestick is especially interesting. Not until the year 81 of our era, as the inscription on the *attica* informs us, was this monument erected to the deified Titus.

THE COLOSSEUM.—From the Arch of Titus

the road descends eastward to the hollow at the foot of the Coelius, where, by the basin of the so-called Meta Sudans, the waters of which once flowed away in cascades over the marble-adorned cone, it turns south-westward towards the Palatine Hill.

We stand here at the foot of the gigantic building whose enormous mass has caught our eye from afar, the Flavian Amphitheatre (figs. 46-50). More than half its materials have been sacrificed in the



FIG. 46.—The Colosseum (northern view).

course of centuries that palaces might be built out of them, yet it still stands unsurpassed among Roman ruins for size and impressiveness. Even though some

few remains of baths, may out-do the Colosseum in actual dimensions, the latter will always hold the higher place owing to the preservation of so vast a mass. The circumference of the elliptical building was over half a kilometre and its height uniformly $48\frac{1}{2}$ metres. And how successfully, by means of simply powerful lines of design, has life been imparted to this enormous mass of walls, treated with absolute uniformity the whole way round! The building resolves itself into simple arcades throughout three stories, only in the fourth and uppermost row does a closed wall appear, and this was perhaps a later addition of the

third century to Vespasian's building. The most favourable point for an external view is the middle of the north side, which, in essentials, is wholly intact. The plan of construction is that already familiar to us in the Tabularium and the Basilica Julia; arcades carried on piles are adorned with columns and cornices



FIG. 47.—The Colosseum (western view).

running above them; the Doric order at the bottom, then the Ionic, then the Corinthian, the last repeated in elongated pilasters on the closed fourth story. The lowest Doric order, furnished in the Roman way with a base, rises directly from the ground; each of the others rests upon a zone of the character of an *attica* which runs round the whole building above the cornice of the order below, and projects beneath the half columns so that they appear to stand upon a pedestal. As such this projection was understood

by the architect, who, in the middle of the fifteenth century, began to erect the massive arcades in the courtyard of the Palazzo di Venezia, and mistakenly put pedestals in the lowest row. These zones here on the Colosseum were conditioned by the fact that the height of the outer wall was determined by the number

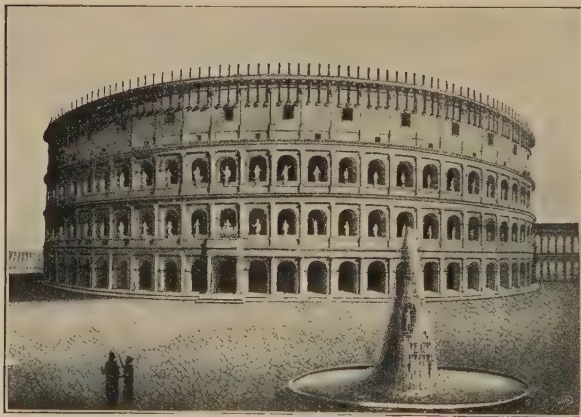


FIG. 48.—The Colosseum (restoration).

and position of the rows of seats within, while each of the rows of columns outside could only be given a certain height in order to keep proper proportion, so that the remaining difference had to be made up by the interposition of these bands. We must imagine the empty arches filled by consoles and statues. In the top story projecting brackets and corresponding openings in the cornice served to support high masts

which carried the sail spread over the interior as a shelter from rain or sun. Skilled sailors from the Tyrrhenian division of the fleet at Cape Misenum were employed to manage this awning and were stationed in a barrack near to the Colosseum, the *Castra Misenatium*.

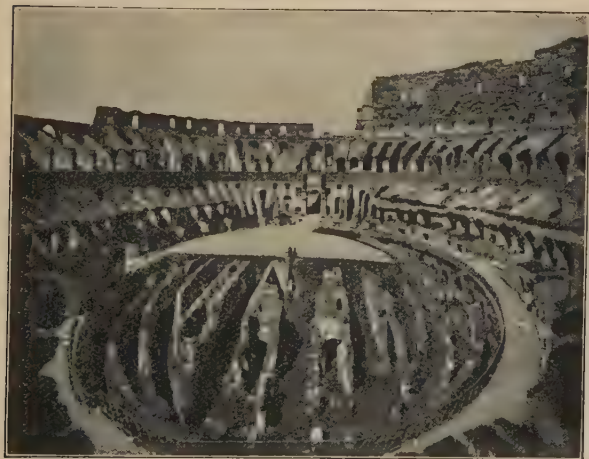


FIG. 49.—Interior of the Colosseum.

Of the eighty entrances formed by the lowest arches four, at the longitudinal and lateral axes of the building, lead directly to the arena; the others, numbered continuously 1 to 76, lead into the concentric vaulted corridors and from these to a complicated system of stairs. The material, which on the outside is travertine, alternates here with brick

and tufa ; the original coating of stucco and marble has almost entirely disappeared. So has the whole arrangement of the seats, of which we can recognise nothing but the division into different rows by means of concentric passages. The last row furnished with seats, in this case only wooden ones, rose supported by a high perpendicular wall within a covered colonnade, the terrace of which, again, afforded standing room. The total



FIG 50.—In the Arcades of the Colosseum.

of spectators can hardly have exceeded 50,000. In the eastern half of the elliptical arena, where the diameter is from 86 to 54 metres, the foundation walls have been laid bare, greatly to the injury of the general appearance, and with

no great compensation in the way of interest, showing a system of passages and gutters which no doubt served mainly to carry off the water that even at the present time is apt to collect in this hollow. The spectator may easily, on a clear moonlight night, mentally refill the vast circle of the building with the noisy fluctuating throng of spectators, who, following their lower instincts, found excitement in the spectacle of baited animals and fighting gladiators ; in the lowest and foremost

row sat the Emperor, whose seat, the Pulvinar, was probably in the middle of one side, with his court, the senators, and the Vestal Virgins.

The theatre was opened, with a hundred days' games, by Titus, in the year 80; the combats of



FIG. 51.—The Arch of Constantine.

gladiators came to an end under Honorius, but those of wild beasts continued to be a pastime for another hundred years.

THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.—If the view of the Colosseum suggests thoughts of the cruelty and tortures to which the early Christian community was exposed in Rome, the Arch of Constantine, hard by, calls to memory the victory of that Emperor

which gave Christianity preponderance in the State. Maxentius was defeated by Constantine, at the Pons Milvius, in the year 311, but the triumphal arch of marble over the Sacred Street was not erected as a

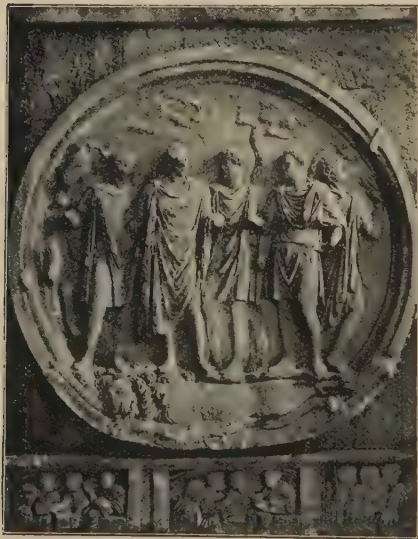


FIG. 52.—Relief of the period of Trajan, now on the Arch of Constantine.

memorial until 315 (fig. 51). It is the best preserved and most splendid in Rome; only very small parts, such as the heads of the barbarian princes in the *attica*, or a column on the south-west side, have needed to be restored; but the bronze ornament which crowned the work is quite lost. In the history of

art the arch has a twofold value. It shows us the appalling decadence of plastic art at the beginning of the fourth century, and at the same time presents valuable examples from the period of Trajan, two hundred years earlier, a superb series of reliefs and also of other architectonic members having been transferred from a ruined

triumphal arch of that Emperor to Constantine's monument (fig. 52). Even an unpractised eye will quickly distinguish what belongs to the time of Trajan and what to the fourth century (fig. 53).

THE SEPTIZONIUM.—The road which passes southward through the Arch of Constantine is formed by a narrow depression bordered by two hills; on the east rises the Coelius, and on the west towers the Palatine, picturesquely crowned by the old convents of S. Sebastiano and S. Bonaventura; slender



FIG. 53.—Relief with the Rostra; from the Arch of Constantine.

palms wave their heads over walls grey with age. The hill was always steep and inaccessible on this side; but its slope appeared even steeper, and the whole of it more isolated owing to the projecting foundations by means of which Septimius Severus widened the hill top to receive his palace. Such colossal pillars and arches as are now exposed to sight were, however, formerly concealed behind the most magnificent decorated building known in Rome, the Septizonium, a water-citadel which afforded an unparalleled spectacle

to the traveller coming up from the Via Appia. The only clues to help in reconstructions of the building (fig. 54) are a fragment of the ground plan in the Capitoline map of the town, and views of the

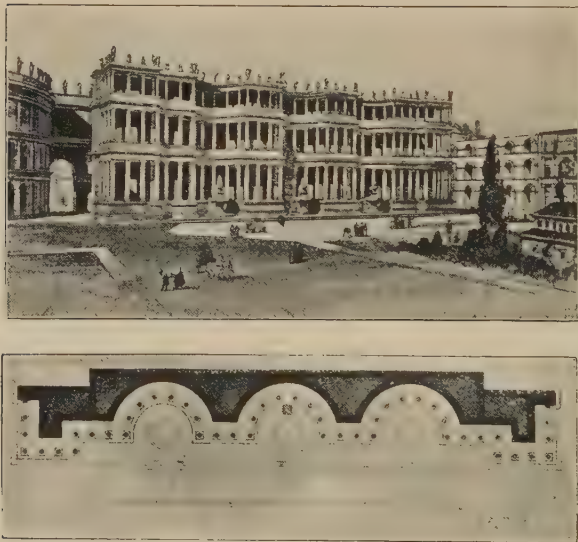


FIG. 54. - Restored elevation and plan of the Septizonium, after Hülsen, in Richter's "Topographie."

ruin (which was entirely annihilated in 1585), as it appears in backgrounds of pictures of the Renaissance, for example in Botticelli's "Destruction of the Company of Korah" in the Sistine Chapel. A piece of the inscription is noted in the often-mentioned Itinerary of Einsiedeln; the length of the building has been

reckoned as from 90 to 100 metres, its height may have been about 30. The whole strongly resembles the background decorations of the ancient stage, and like its hitherto unexplained name is in some measure analogous to the *nymphæa* of Asia Minor and North Africa.

THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS.—In order to reach the modern way up the Palatine Hill, we follow the same street northward. It passes round the west side of the hill, where some of the buildings rest upon ancient foundations. These are the scanty remains of Rome's largest circus, the Circus Maximus. Here, between the Palatine and the Aventine in the valley of the Maranna, the old Vallis Murcia, which is more than 660 metres in length and 150 wide, Romulus is said to have celebrated the first games, and the Tarquins to have put up the first durable erections. But only in the closing days of the Republic did the Romans have a permanently constructed circus, which they owed to Cæsar. In the course of the first century of our era we hear repeatedly of reparations and embellishments; from the time of Trajan onward representations on sarcophagi and coins give us a more exact picture; the circus continued to fulfil its purpose up to the sixth century. It was not a building that took advantage of the hill-side, but one that towered free; the lower stories were made of stone, the upper of wood; the inhabitants of the district did not enjoy the best of reputations. The southern end opened into a triumphal arch erected in the year 81 to Titus and Vespasian. The *spina*, or low, broad wall which bisected the circus lengthwise, was richly adorned and bore on its ends the *metæ* or

winning posts, while obelisks (now in front of the Lateran and on the Piazza del Popolo) and other works of art stood between. The number of spectators was reckoned at 150,000, and in later times at about 200,000. An opportunity of viewing the whole extent of the design is afforded by the Palatine and the Aventine.



FIG. 55.—The Palace of the Flavii on the Palatine.

V

THE PALATINE

IN order to reach the summit of the Palatine we traverse the whole extent of the valley in which the Circus lies, and, at the north end, by the north-west point of the Palatine, turn into the Via S. Teodoro, which follows, on the whole, the course of the old Vicus Tuscus and debouches at the south-east end of the Forum. About the middle of the street, near the old round church of S. Teodoro, our course leads in windings up the hill side. Following, part of the way, the old wall of *Roma Quadrata*, we go round the north-west corner of the hill up to the spot where the very old ascent by the *Scalæ Caci* ended. But very few fragments, however, at this part, can be referred to the older periods of Rome, much less to the period of the kings. With a few

exceptions everything was swept and levelled away to make room for the gigantic structures of the Imperial period; even the trough-shaped cutting which formerly divided the hill was built up to afford a level surface for the foundation of the temples and palaces on the hill.

Nearly half of the buildings on the Palatine have been brought to light again, principally since the beginning of the nineteenth century; and many buried



FIG 56.—Temple of Victory on the Palatine.

parts of others have been made accessible by subterranean passages, while a considerable portion of the site, especially on the south side of the hill, is still covered with convents and gardens, which, it must be admitted, add extremely to

the picturesque character of the hill. What has been excavated, is not always perfectly clear, either as to meaning or as to date, and the state of preservation throughout leaves much to be desired; reconstruction is often only possible in a very general way.

TEMPLES OF CYBELE AND OF VICTORY.— Besides the early remains already mentioned, nothing goes back farther than the buildings of the Augustan period, except the foundations of the two

temples on the north-western spur, and the destination even of these is disputed. Cybele, the *magna mater*, whose worship had come in from the East, and Victory, were revered here. It seems most probable that we may identify the shrine of the latter with the more northerly of the two ruins, the remains of which render possible an assured reconstruction of the main features (fig. 56). It was a building erected as far back as the time of the Republic, made partly of peperino, having a deep, six-pillared, Corinthian porch, a high substructure, and a great flight of open steps, the lower part of which bent back at a right angle on each side and was thus wider than the temple itself.



FIG. 57.—Temple of Cybele on the Palatine.

The arrangement of the steps in the southern temple is of the same kind but even ampler; here, at the sanctuary of the Magna Mater, the extensive front steps were used by spectators of the games which were celebrated here, the Megalesia (fig. 57).

PRIVATE HOUSES.—Between the ruins of the two temples are remains of private houses, which are continued on the other side of a street since roofed over, by the house of Livia. The raising of the ground in the Imperial period necessitated steps which lead down into the court; on to this three rooms open on

the south-east, while others are grouped towards the side and back. Whether the house be regarded as that of Livia, or of Tiberius' father, its date is indubitably fixed by its remarkable paintings (the celebrated "Io watched by Argus" and many others) as not long before the beginning of our era. This house and other smaller remains form the material complement to the considerable literary evi-



FIG. 58.—Roman Private House (reconstructed).

dence as to the existence, upon the Palatine Hill, of important private houses, dating from the later days of the Republic. The high, healthy position and the vicinity of the Forum

attracted the high-born and wealthy. M. Fulvius Flaccus lived here, and so did Q. Lutatius Catulus. The next house to that of Catulus, which was built by M. Livius Drusus, was successively in the possession of Cicero and of Clodius. These houses, like those of M. Æmilius Scaurus, Q. Hortensius, Catiline, and others, belonged to the type of the *domus*, which at first was simple, but was growing rich in its arrangements towards the close of the Republican period. They were, that is to say, distinguished from the irregular, many-storied *insulæ*,

the height of which Augustus limited to 70 feet, by being private houses, as Italian palaces are, meant for a single family, and were built on the mixed plan derived from ancient Italian and Græco-Hellenic traditions, a plan which at the present day may most conveniently be studied in the Pompeian type, in the "House of Pansa" and others similar to it (fig. 58). The appointments of the interior long remained simple, so that it is recorded of Licinius Crassus that he was the first man in Rome who adorned his *atrium* with four columns of marble of Hymettus.

PALACES OF THE EMPERORS. —

Under Augustus began a new era also in private buildings. The Emperor, who boasted that he had found Rome brick and left it marble, laid out his residence on the Palatine, in such a manner that the name "Palatium" has remained, even to the present day, synonymous with a state residence (*palas*, *palazzo*, *palais*, *palace*, *Palast*, etc.).

The Emperor himself had previously often changed his abode. The house in which he was born had stood near the "old Curia" in the street *ad capita bubula*; at a later time he inhabited the house of the orator Licinius Calvus, which lay in the direction of the Forum, and then moved into that which he had bought from the orator Q. Hortensius; this is described as being simple and modest, with small halls and rooms unadorned with marble or paved floors. The dwelling was enlarged by the purchase of neighbouring houses; a part which had been struck by lightning was consecrated to Apollo, and a rich temple--of which more will be said pre-

sently — erected here to that god. We hear of another fire, and of a restoration of the palace, made in part as a free gift of the citizens; the aspect and even the exact site of the edifice are now unknown; all of it, or so much as may have escaped the fire



FIG. 59.—Palace Substructures on the Palatine.

under Nero, seems to have given place to new buildings towards the end of the century.

Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, built a residence for himself, separate from the house of Augustus, on the north-west side of the hill, where the Farnese Gardens are now situated; and later on the Emperors of the Flavian house and Hadrian enlarged his building, carrying it forward across the Via Nova towards the Forum, by means of a mighty basement which still

stands out above the House of the Vestal Virgins ; and further enlargements were made in the third century. On the other hand every trace has disappeared of Caligula's lunatic enterprises, though we can still walk through the vaulted passage on the eastern edge of the palace of Tiberius—the so-called Crypto-porticus—in which Caligula fell by the hands of murderers. The time of Claudius has left no mark upon the imperial buildings of the Palatine, and Nero's gigantic plans took another direction, and reached beyond the Palatine to the Esquiline. Nero's successors, too, down to Titus, inhabited the Golden House on the Esquiline.

Domitian was the first Emperor who turned his attention once more to the Palatine, where he undertook a restoration and also an enlargement of the old palace of Augustus. What is still remaining between the palace of Tiberius on the north-west, and that of Septimius Severus on the south, probably belongs principally to the new buildings erected by the Flavii and carried on by Hadrian.

Two main blocks may be distinguished in the palace of Augustus and the Flavii ; they stand parallel to each other, both facing to the north-east, towards the Area Palatina, the open space towards which a street ran up in a straight line from the Via Sacra. The more north-westerly of these blocks is almost entirely opened up again, but the neighbouring palace, on the other hand, which was partly excavated and plundered in the eighteenth century, still lies hidden under the Villa Mills, and is difficult of access ; on its north side we may suppose the Temple of Apollo to be concealed beneath the convent of the Salesian

nuns. A long stretch of garden enclosed by high walls, the Stadium or Hippodrome, bounded the palace on the south, and may perhaps date from the time of Augustus; the Flavii seem to have continued building it; Hadrian added the deep niche in the centre

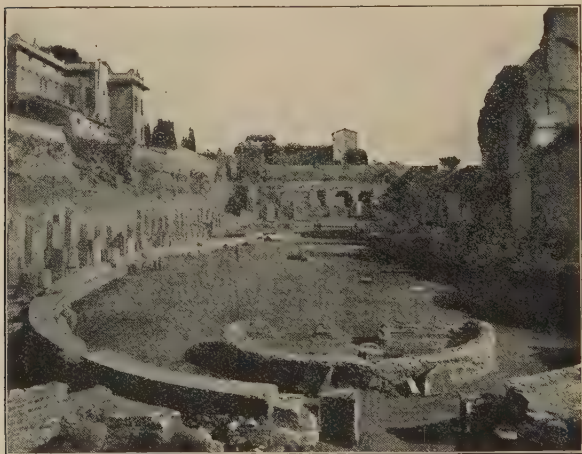


FIG. 60.—Stadium on the Palatine.

of the east side, and interior details were altered at later times; finally the whole developed into a space with a portico running round it, ornamented by statuary and by the arts of the gardener. Beyond it begin the building operations of Septimius Severus, who caused his palace to project far beyond the edge of the hill-side, upon massive vaulted foundations which still exist.

Lastly, we hear of the Gardens of Adonis upon the Palatine; they, like the Temple of Jupiter Stator, can no longer be placed, and the same is true of the Temple of Augustus, which appears on coins at first as an Ionic building with six columns, and afterwards as a Corinthian building with eight columns. The great empty brick ruin standing at the foot of the northern spur, and facing the Vicus Tuscus, has been supposed to belong to this temple. Its reconstruction presents many difficulties.

All the ruins of palaces on the Palatine consist of scarcely more than the brick core of single walls; isolated bits of their decoration, remains of friezes, cornices, columns, etc., have been summarily attached to them here and there with mortar. The eye of an observer conversant with architecture will not, however, find it difficult to recompose the separate rooms into a whole construction (fig. 61).

Thus, in the so-called Palace of the Flavii, a rectangle of 150 metres long and over 80 wide, we easily distinguish the apartments, once roofed in, from the large, central, open peristyle. The largest room was the middle hall, 55 metres long by 31 wide, which was situated in the north-eastern, or front-part of the building and had a coffered, vaulted roof; the width of the space and the enormous strength of the niched walls would of themselves indicate this. Abundant remains (part of which are now in Parma) were found of the rich mural decorations, of the coloured columns 8 metres high, and of the entablature. On the right we enter the basilica, a hall 35 metres long by 20 wide, ending in an apse and having two stories of columns — nine

columns on each side—running down the sides. The halls, which in public basilicas are also found at either end, are here absent, this basilica not needing to serve the double purpose of an exchange and a court of justice, but only of the latter. The Podium in the circular end, which still has a bit of marble balustrade in front, received the emperor and his followers, while the clients assembled in the actual hall. Thus the palace basilica, as described by Vitruvius, forms a variety of the general type of basilica, and in purpose and form



FIG. 61.—Palace of the Flavii; restored section, after Reber.

has a strong likeness to the meeting-place of the new Christian community, then assuming definite shape, the ecclesiastic basilica. This, however, must not be regarded as directly derived from the palace-basilica alone; both are varieties, parallel in many respects, of the general species, basilica.

The purpose of the apartment on the left of the great front hall has not been determined. The central part of the whole construction is also divided, transversely, into three. But in place of a hall the centre is here formed by the open court corresponding to the peristyle of a private house. Corinthian columns of Porta Santa marble form the porticoes of this space,

which is 60 metres long and 50 wide ; upper corridors (not indicated in the illustration, fig. 61) ran above the lower ones ; fragments of costly mural decorations are still found. The adjoining apartments (laid open only on the west side) are smaller reception rooms, the ground plan of which is rich and cut into many sub-divisions. The same arrangement of a large central room with narrower side apartments is retained in the southern third

of the palace. The principal room, which is 30 by 35 metres, and has a recess shaped like the segment of a circle in its back wall, may doubtless be regarded as



FIG. 62.—Basilica in the Palace of the Flavii.

a triclinium or dining-room ; here, too, the splendour of the materials was extraordinary, as fragments of mosaic pavement from the recess, etc., testify. An open space, which may be compared to a winter garden, and which opens into five wide passages, adjoins on the west, and a basin in it, with an elliptical enclosure for plants, resembles a *nymphæum*. At this point, the old temple of Magna Mater comes close up to the palace. On the south, however, there was room enough for detached pillared halls, the destination of which is not known. On the south-west slope of the hill, the dwelling of the imperial pages seems to have been situ-

ated. Inscriptions scratched in the plaster of the walls tell of their tasks and of their joy in being able to leave the "Pædagogium." The mock crucifix which was found in another room and which bore the figure of Alexamenos, the slave whom his fellows derided for his Christianity, but who remained faithful, is universally known.¹

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO.—

Written records help us, in the case of the Palatine buildings also, to complete

¹ See, however, vol. i. p. 289.



FIG. 63.—The Palat



what is left. That especial splendour was collected here is a matter of course, and not the least brilliant of the buildings on the hill was the sanctuary of Apollo. From the quarries of Carrara, which Augustus was the first to work, came the white (Luna) marble of which the temple and its porch were built; the latter was denominated "diastylus," its interspaces being equal therefore to three diameters of the columns. That is all we know about the construction of the building. The interior sheltered

the statue of the god as "Citharædus," or lute-player, the conception being the same which we still see in the statue after Scopas in the "Room of the Muses" of the Vatican gallery.¹ His mother Leto and his sister Diana stood beside him, the former a work of the younger Cephisodotus, the latter by Timotheus, and the walls of the *cella* were adorned with figures of the Muses. Whatever else is mentioned as part of the temple's adornment has to do with the myth of Apollo; the ivory reliefs of the double door contained the history of Niobe's children falling beneath the arrows of the god and his sister, and that of the Gauls, frightened away from the shrine at Delphi. Work that was important on account of its age filled the pediment—marble statues by the old and famous masters of Chios, Bupalos and Athenis, for whose productions Augustus had a particular preference; and the chariot of the Sun-god, in gilded bronze, crowned the whole. We hear of eighty silver statues, dedicated by the Emperor, of golden tripods, vases, lamps, and other works in the temple; Marcellus began a valuable collection of gems. Hidden within the pedestal of the tutelary deity, and enclosed in caskets of silver, reposed the Sibylline Books, which here survived many conflagrations. In the libraries which adjoined the court of the temple, and in which Augustus held meetings of the Senate in his old age, the "Procurator of the Augustan Collection of Books" watched over those treasures of the Greek and Latin tongues which contained the rights of the citizens and the "*studia liberalia*."

The court and halls, too, were rich in works of art.

¹ See vol. i. p. 100.

Behind the altar seems to have stood a colossal statue of Apollo, and beside him four oxen, life-like, sculptured by Myron. The portico of the court was ornamented by more statues and by fluted columns of Numidian marble. Fifty Danaids adorned the spaces between the columns, and the sons of Ægyptos, represented as horsemen, faced them. Lastly, the entrances were apparently in the form of a triumphal arch upon which stood a four-horsed chariot, the work of Lysias, with Apollo and Artemis, in a small shrine.

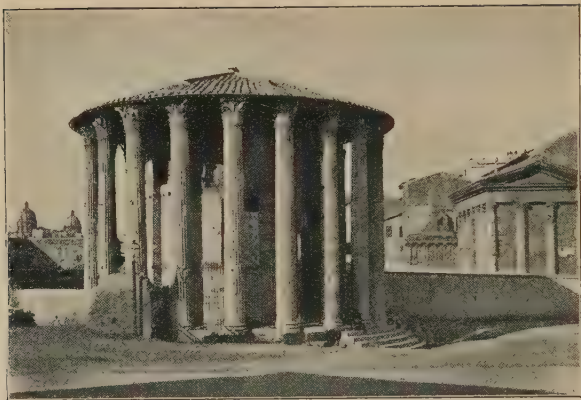


FIG. 64 —The Round Temple on the Tiber.

VI

THE VELABRUM

THE VELABRUM.—Our way back from the Palatine leads down by its northern foot into the valley of the Velabrum opening towards the Capitol and the Tiber. Four monuments of antiquity remain here, comparatively uninjured, two arches and two temples. The smaller of the arches is one that was erected to Septimius Severus, in A.D. 204, by the money-changers and merchants of the Forum Boarium; at a later time one of its sides was built into the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. This moderately large gateway, made of brick and faced with marble, differs in two points from the usual form of triumphal arches which have a single opening; its passage way, which is 5 metres high and

fully 3 metres wide, is not arched in the roof but flat, and its entablature is so high as to dispense with the customary *attica* (fig. 65). The ornamental treatment is very rich, but in parts exaggerated and overloaded.

The angles, instead of being adorned with columns or half columns, have flat pilasters, with sunk panels decorated with foliage and trophies. Not a little of the decorative art of the Renaissance may be traced to this edifice as its original type. The reliefs with figures, which represent scenes of



FIG. 65.—Gate erected in honour of Septimius Severus.

sacrifice, are not of much importance, except as representations of the sacrificial implements. On this memorial too, as on the Arch of Severus in the Forum, Caracalla caused the name of his murdered brother to be erased, and likewise one of the reliefs which contained his portrait.

JANUS QUADRIFRONS.—A singular contrast to the exaggerated elegance of this monument is afforded by the severity of its immediate neighbour, the so-called Janus Quadrifrons (fig. 66). It is built on a square, and is almost cubic in shape, fully 16 metres wide, and though now only 12, no doubt originally some 16 metres high; the middle of each side is cut by an arch of nearly 6 metres wide and fully 10½



FIG. 66.—Arch of Janus.

high; in the interior, where these arched passages meet, the roof is groined. The exterior is ornamented on each side above the projecting base, by two rows of apsidal niches, sloped at the top

like mussel-shells, and a good two metres in height; some of them, however, are only shams. The piers of the arches in the passage-ways are deeply carved at the edges, and figures in relief (Rome and Minerva) are still recognisable on two of the keystones; detached fragments indicate that Corinthian columns were employed in the decoration, either at the base or in the *attica*, which is missing, perhaps in the same way as they are employed upon the four-sided arch of Caracalla at Tebessa (The-

veste) in Algiers, which was probably built about the same time; the Arch of Marcus Aurelius at Tripoli, too, may be mentioned for comparison as one of the infrequent examples of a so-called Janus Quadrifrons. The two latter were ornamented with a dome, and so was a "Tetrapylon" at Antioch, from the period of Septimius Severus.

FORUM BOARIUM.—At a short distance to the west of these monuments we come to the two temples on the bank of the Tiber which owe their relatively excellent preservation to the circumstance that the Church early took possession of them. The names of the ancient divinities who were formerly honoured here in the Forum Boarium, the cattle-market, are indeed in a measure known to us, but it has not hitherto been possible to identify them positively with the former owners of these two sanctuaries. In an artistic sense each of these buildings is particularly valuable. One of them which as a church was known for a time by the name S. Maria del Sole, and also by that of S. Stefano delle Carozze, may perhaps be a temple of Portunus, mentioned as being near the Pons Æmilius. It belongs to the rare group of circular temples surrounded by columns, one example of which we have seen in the Temple of Vesta in the Forum. But what the spectator must needs put together, in that instance, from minute vestiges, is here presented to him, except for the roof, in a fairly complete state (see headpiece, fig. 64). Nineteen of the former twenty Corinthian columns, made of white marble and fluted, still stand on the circular base, which has a diameter of fully $16\frac{1}{2}$ metres, is faced with

marble, and no doubt was originally surrounded by about ten steps. The entablature has disappeared; instead of the dome an ugly roof rests on the building, but a remnant of the panelled ceiling over the corridor has been preserved. The wall of the *cella* is also composed of marble; on the interior it was intended to have a stucco facing. A door, the lintel of which is gone, leads in from the east; two windows beside

it gave light to the interior.



FIG. 67.—Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

No less interesting is the neighbouring edifice on the north, the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis, dedicated as a church to St Mary of

Egypt (fig. 67). Whether this was the shrine of Fortuna or that of the Mater Matuta, which was near, is beyond discovery. Both, ascribed to Servius Tullius as their founder, rose anew in the year 213 B.C. after a conflagration, and were adorned with porticoes. The simple material, blocks of tufa, formerly covered with stucco, shows the building which has been preserved to be not later than the Republican period of Rome. Upon a high basement, 20 metres long by 12 broad, with a flight of steps

on the north, stands the *cella*, the porch of which formerly opened as far as the third column on the side. The columns are of the Ionic order, and Ionic half-columns adorn the *cella* walls. We thus have here one of the favourite Roman pseudoperipteral temples, rarely found in as good preservation as the celebrated "Maison carée" at Nîmes. All the windows are ecclesiastical additions.

The district of the temples named above—the Forum Boarium and its vicinity, the mouth of the Murcia valley, and the adjacent river bank, are not poor in remains of old foundations, but these are too fragmentary to make theoretical reconstruction always sure. Thus the ancient columns preserved in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin may have belonged to one of the buildings which, like the Horrea, built on the Tiber, served for the superintendence of the important trade in grain; remnants of the Emporia have also been found, and of the landing-places on the bank, with railings and strong stone rings for fastening up the ships which brought provisions from over seas to the capital; near by, on the south-west of the Aventine, may be observed the Monte Testaccio, a good-sized artificial hill created by the heaping up of the earthen vessels in which these provisions were carried on board ship.

The new works for regulating the river to avoid inundations, and the laying out of quays, have given a changed and modernised aspect to the banks of the Tiber; of the old bridges, none are preserved except the two that connected the island in the Tiber with the shores, the Pons Cestius and Pons Fabricius, together with the Pons Ælius, which Hadrian carried

across to his tomb, and which is partially restored. They are solid constructions in masonry, with massive piles to carry the well-laid arches. Of the ancient surrounding wall of the island, conceived as a vast ship carrying a temple to Æsculapius, a few detached traces are still found at its south-eastern point.



FIG. 68.—Exterior of the Pantheon.

VII

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

STANDING level with the island in the Tiber and turning northward from the Temple of Fortuna, we come at the end of the present Via di Bocca della Verità (where the double doors of the Porta Carmentalis in the old Servian wall once were) to the large plain at the north-west of the city, which bore in its entirety the name of the Campus Martius or Field of Mars. Here, in particular, at the western base of the Capitol, lay the Forum Holitorium or vegetable market.

This wide plain with the Capitol, the Quirinal, and

the Pincian on one side and the Tiber on the other, only comes comparatively late into the architectural history of ancient Rome. In the earliest period it was an exercising ground for soldiers, and, as it were, dedicated to the god of war; only towards the close of the Republican period did it become covered more and more with scattered buildings devoted, some to the gods, and some to public business or entertainment. The first theatres in the town arose here side by side with temples, and also the first hot baths; parks and circuses alternated with those great assembly halls, the *Sæpta* and others, for which there was no longer space within the old walls. In course of time the plain was traversed in various directions by splendid colonnades, and at one time it was actually possible to walk all through Rome, from the Vatican to the *Via Ostiensis*, in the shade of these arcades.

The spectator of to-day, who on his way from the Forum and the Palatine dives, so to speak, into the narrow alleys of northern Rome, will at first be surprised to find how scanty are the remains of this ancient magnificence. Recollection, however, of the city's subsequent development explains the matter. Even in the course of the Middle Ages the diminishing population of Rome began more and more to withdraw from the hills and to congregate in the *Campus Martius*. There the ancient buildings, useless in their entirety for the new requirements, lent their substance, piece by piece, as material for churches and secular edifices. With one single exception, the Pantheon, no ancient building in this district remained intact. The pitiful fragments are nevertheless of importance

not only in the matter of topography, but to some extent in the history of art. For we find here the solitary ruin of a theatre and traces of the great altars with their courts, and of the porticoes surrounding the temples.

THE THE- ATRE OF MARCEL- LUS.—

Some of these remains are interesting rather from a special archæological than from a general artistic point of view. This is the case, for instance, with the columns which originally be-
longed to

three temples surrounded by columns and adjoining each other (perhaps that of "Spes" being one of them), and which are now built into the Church of S. Niccola in Carcere. Close by stands a ruin which immediately attracts the eye on account of its size, the Theatre of Marcellus (fig. 69). It is true that barely half the auditorium remains, that even this is partly buried in the raised ground, and that what we see has been altered by building a palace

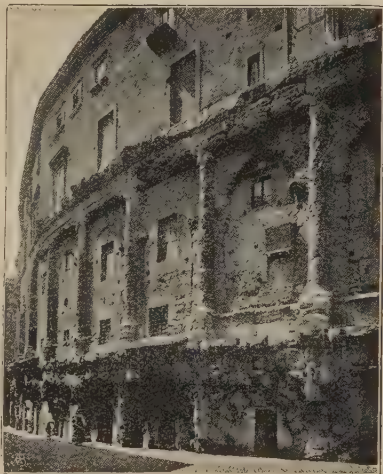


FIG. 69.—The Theatre of Marcellus.

into it ; yet the part preserved is immensely impressive and is also important because of the influence which this architecture exercised upon future building in the earliest century of the Renaissance. The system of walled arches adorned in the lower story with Doric and in the upper with Ionic half-columns and cornices to correspond is already known to us in the Tabularium and the Colosseum. The pillars are 2 metres wide, the arches between them about 5 in. wide and full $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. No trace remains of a Corinthian third story, which may perhaps be conjectured to have existed. So too the interior (except for a few low radiating walls in the curved auditorium), the semi-circular orchestra and the stage have all disappeared, leaving scarcely a vestige, and are buried beneath rubbish and beneath modern streets, houses, and gardens. But a fragment of the marble map in the Capitol enables us to reconstruct the ground plan, which shows this peculiarity that on each side of the oblong "scæna" there was a hall with an apsidal end, the sides of these halls being decorated with columns. The building of the theatre was begun by Cæsar, but only finished by Augustus in the year 13 B.C. ; it received the name of Marcellus in memory of the Emperor's nephew who had died shortly before. It was the second in the series of stone theatres of Rome ; the third and last, the Theatre of Balbus, which stood not far away, was erected in the same year, while the earliest monumental edifice of this kind was the Theatre of Pompey, opened in the year 35 B.C. Of Balbus' building only scanty remains exist, belonging to a domed and pillared hall, the so-called *Crypta Balbi*, which

adjoined the back of the stage, a custom observed elsewhere, too, in order to give shelter to the spectators in case of bad weather.

THEATRE OF POMPEY.—A clear ground-plan of the Theatre of Pompey exists in the Capitoline plan of the city (fig. 70), and remains of the lower walls may still be distinguished at various places in the streets east of the Campo de' Fiori. The stage was furnished with niches and statues in unusual profusion, and a special addition was the Temple of Venus,

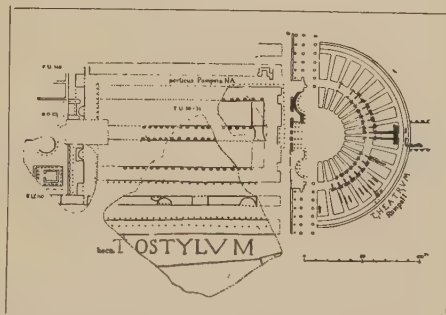


FIG. 70.—Plan of the Theatre of Pompey, after Reber.

erected upon a high substructure and rising above the edge of the auditorium. It must have been a brilliant spectacle when the Emperor, after having performed a sacrifice, came, followed by his splendid retinue, down the steps of the semi-circle, from the temple above, as Claudius, for example, is reported to have done.

Precisely the period of Pompey is distinguished by veritable luxury in the adornment of theatres, as though there had been a desire to lift the ephemeral wooden booths, which until then had alone been permitted,

into greater temporary fame. Three years before, the ædile, M. Æmilius Scaurus, had put up his theatre, which was meant to last for only a few days, and of which the interior was adorned with three hundred and sixty marble columns, including a set of monoliths 38 feet high; the background of the stage was in three stories faced with marble, mosaic, and gold, and three thousand bronze statues were produced for the decoration. We may mention, incidentally, the double theatre built by Curio in the year 50 B.C., the two semi-circular auditoriums of which were turned back to back, but were made to revolve by an ingenious mechanical device so as to produce the circle of an amphitheatre for gladiatorial shows. A complete amphitheatre was built by Statilius Taurus in the year 29 B.C., and by Nero, the latter building being made of wood and richly decorated; the situation of neither can now be ascertained.

The Theatre of Pompey had a considerable park and system of arcades adjoining the back of the building; this extension is marked on the Capitoline plan, and beyond it comes the hundred-pillared portico, or *Hekatomastylon*. Statues and fountains ornamented the garden, and its avenues of plane-trees were a favourite resort of idlers. Finally Pompey had added a Curia, in which, at the assembly of the Senate on the Ides of March, in the year 44 B.C., Cæsar fell, under the blows of his murderers, at the foot of a statue of Pompey. The bronze statue preserved in the Palazzo Spada has been erroneously identified with that statue; but no doubt the colossal bronze Heracles in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican—as well as other statues—does come from Pompey's building in the Campus Martius.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—Of the public buildings on this spot it is impossible in many cases to fix the position ; in a few instances old representations enable us to tell at least the general form. Thus a medal of the Gens Fonteja, belonging to the last century of the Republic, shows us the Villa Publica, a square, two-storied building with open arcades below, which was founded as early as the fifth century and rebuilt under Augustus. It is mentioned repeatedly in history. Sulla caused four thousand Samnite prisoners to be massacred here, after the battle at the Porta Collina, and their death cries reached the ears of the Senators assembled in the neighbouring Temple of Bellona. The building was also frequently used for business connected with the levying of troops, and for receiving foreign ambassadors or victorious generals.

What is left or recorded of this building and of other similar ones, which have now wholly or nearly disappeared, is now more specially interesting to the archæologist and the historian than to the lover of art. Thus only a few pillars in the cellars of modern houses—an evidence of the gradual rising of the ground—are to be seen of the portico of Minucius, at the western base of the Capitol, or of that gigantic building, the Sæpta Julia, which extended on the west side of the Corso (the old Via Lata) from the Piazza di Venezia as far as the Via del Seminario. In Republican times the Comitia Centuriata and the Comitia Tributa used to assemble there, the former divided into ninety-two and the latter into thirty-five sections, the members of which came one by one, across high platforms, to cast their votes. Cæsar, and Lepidus after him, had erected a wide portico, 400 metres long by 100 wide, over

the open space, and the roofs of the seven aisles were borne by supports of travertine, remains of which still exist beneath the Palazzi Doria, Bonaparte, and di Venezia, and the church of S. Maria in Via Lata. The building, which was adorned with works of art, served from the time of Tiberius as a favourite thoroughfare and for shows of all sorts, as did the neighbouring Diribitorium, which had likewise been built originally for voting purposes, and had a famous central hall with a magnificent wooden roof of unusual span which no one ventured to renew after the fire under Titus. Opposite, too, on the east side of the Via Lata (Corso) were large buildings, such as the barracks of the first cohort of the guards and firemen—the Prima Cohors Vigilum—the ground-plan of which is preserved in the Capitoline map. The buildings of the public post, the Catabulum, were also situated here.

One of the most favourite portico-walks in the Via Lata must be mentioned, the Porticus Vipsania or Pollæ, erected by Agrippa in honour of his sister Vipsania Polla; it was formed of several arcades carried on piles, faced with Doric pilasters, and extended, with the additions made to it in the second century, from the Via della Mercede to the Palazzo Sciarra; it contained the great map of the world, prepared by order of Agrippa. This portico formed the western end of the Campus Agrippæ, which was laid out as a promenade, planted abundantly with laurel bushes, and extended nearly to the foot of the Quirinal (about to the Via della Stamperia).

THE TEMPLE OF NEPTUNE.—If we leave the Corso by the Via di Pietra, just before coming

to the Piazza Colonna, we shall soon see opposite to us a comparatively important relic of antiquity, the portico of a temple of the Corinthian order, built into a modern edifice, the Exchange (fig. 71). This is the Temple of Neptune, another of Agrippa's buildings, erected after the Battle of Actium; Domitian rebuilt it after a fire in the year 80, and Hadrian again restored it. Palladio has left drawings of the building.

The two ends, which had either six or eight columns, have been built up. On the north side, which had fifteen columns, eleven remain; they are fully 13 metres high, with fluted marble shafts, almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ metre in diameter, Corinthian capitals,



FIG. 71.—The Temple of Neptune.

and rich frieze and cornice. The central portion of the peperino wall of the *cella*, denuded of its marble facing, is extant, and the vaulted ceiling of the outer passage is still visible. The substructure was richly adorned. The palace of the Conservatori¹ and the National Museum in Naples still preserve a series of the reliefs with personifications of the provinces (under the columns) and trophies (under the intervening spaces). The temple (which also bore the name of

¹ Vol. i. p. 199.

Basilica or Stoa of Poseidon) belongs to the group of sacred edifices which possessed, like the Temple of Venus and Rome, and the Imperial Fora, a great court with porticoes around it. In this instance the court was some 110 metres long by 100 wide. Remains of the peperino walls, which were once adorned with pictures from the legend of the Argonauts (whence the portico derived its name), and fragments of the architectonic decoration as well as parts of the old travertine pavement, four metres below the present level, have been excavated. •

OTHER TEMPLES IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.—The Campus Martius possessed several more temples of this description: the Portico and Temple of Bonus Eventus (north of Pompey's portico, and belonging to the time of Agrippa), which had capitals 1.70 metres high of excellent workmanship; the Porticus Philippi with the Temple of Hercules and the Muses (east of the Theatre of Balbus), which was built by Marcius Philippus, the father-in-law of Augustus, and filled with works of art, especially paintings by Zeuxis, Antiphilos, and others. The clay statues of Heracles playing the lyre and of the Muses were admired as far back as the year 187 B.C. in the temple which was founded by M. Fulvius Nobilior and restored by Philippus. Finally a few remnants are still visible of the immediately adjoining Portico of Octavia (near the Theatre of Marcellus). It enclosed two temples, that of Jupiter and that of Juno (fig. 72). The portico itself, which formed a rectangle 130 metres long and 110 wide, had no solid boundary walls but consisted of double rows of columns which widened out in the

middle of the west side into an imposing gateway. The pediment rests upon corner pillars and four Corinthian columns on each front; they have fluted shafts eight metres in height, and have been partially walled up in later times or replaced by arches; what part belongs to the restoration by Septimius Severus recounted

on the frieze, and what to the original construction, is difficult to determine in the present fragmentary condition. The building was set up by Augustus in 32 B.C., in place of the portico erected in 147 B.C. by Q. Metellus



FIG. 72.—Plan of the Portico of Octavia, after Reber.

Macedonicus, and was dedicated to the name of his sister Octavia (fig. 74). A fire under Titus was followed by a rebuilding under Domitian, and after another conflagration by a fresh restoration at the hands of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (203 A.D.). A number of works of art are mentioned by Pliny as being in these porticoes, an Aphrodite by Pheidias, the celebrated Eros of Praxiteles, which had previously



FIG. 73.—The Campus M



struction by Bühlmann).

been at Thespiæ, and the statues, by Lysippus, of Alexander and the twenty-five horsemen who fell at the Granicus, besides nine warriors on foot; this group Metellus had brought from Dion to Rome, after he defeated Perseus of Macedonia, and had set it up in his portico. The Æsculapius and Diana of Cephisodotus were also here; and the statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, as well as the nine Muses,



FIG. 74.—Gate in the Portico of Octavia.

by Philiscos the Rhodian. The art of the Greeks who worked in Rome was represented by an Aphrodite of Polycarmos. The pedestal of a statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, has

recently been found, with its inscription; celebrated pictures completed the artistic wealth of these porticoes, which was still further continued in the temples themselves, the library, and the Curia. Of the temples one was consecrated to Jupiter and one to Juno. The former, erected by the Grecian architect Hermodorus, was rebuilt by Augustus with the portico, reputedly according to the designs of the legendary masters Sauros and Batrachos, and had to be once more replaced by a new building after

the fire under Titus. The temple was completely surrounded by columns, while that of Juno was only furnished, it would appear, with a six-columned porch. These sanctuaries were rich in works of the chisel and the brush; the image of Jupiter was the work of Timarchides. As to the position and appearance of the library and Curia which were connected with the temples, we have no indications.

We need not pause at other sanctuaries of the Campus Martius (fig. 73), such as the Temple of Isis and Serapis (east of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva), the artistic shape of which is no longer certain; we are concerned here with only one other temple, the best preserved of all, the Pantheon. Here again the Church was the protectress of the ancient shrine; in the year 609 she entered this round building, which until then had suffered but little, and which even later has only lost some details of its decoration. In the essentials of its architectural effect it stands before us to-day as its builder made it. That builder, however, was not the Valerius of Ostia of Augustus' day, for scarcely a stone remains of the entire building which M. Vipsanius Agrippa founded at the time of his third consulate (B.C. 27). What we see to-day is the work of Hadrian, who rebuilt the old edifice, which had been burned, from the very foundation; all the bricks of the Pantheon which have recently been examined belong, by their stamp, to his period. The artistic form of the monument itself also points to that same date. Domes so imposing were never planned by Augustan art. Such an idea only took shape under the hands of masters who had fed their conceptions upon similar works of an older movement which had not previously

influenced the architectural development of the occidental countries, to wit, the circular and domed buildings of the Hellenic East. A man like Apollodorus of Damascus, the architect of Trajan and Hadrian, had to appear in order to realise such ideas in Rome. The older Pantheon of Agrippa, indeed, may well have been a circular building, although that assumption is by no means proved, for it was in all probability a con-

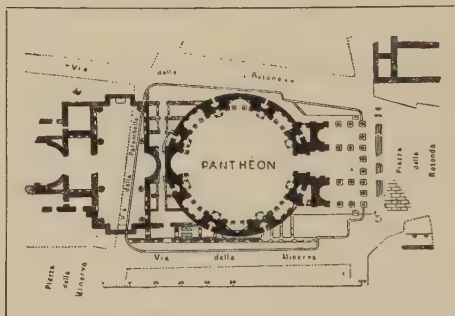


FIG. 75.—Ground-plan of the Pantheon.

struction in the style of the Odeons, such as Pericles had already created in Athens: a concentric building, with a tent-shaped wooden roof, supported by an internal row of columns; these, in the case of the Pantheon, apparently bearing Caryatides (fig. 75). The frequent conflagrations due to lightning are easily explicable in the case of such constructions and materials, but not in the case of a massive rotunda with a stone dome, such as we now behold.

Architects and archaeologists alike will pause before the exterior of this building, where many striking points challenge interpretation. Ruins, loosely con-

nected with the rotunda, extend behind it, while the rectangular porch, with its columns and pediment, abuts, without transition, on the circular building. The impression of this portico is somewhat heavy now that the level of the street has risen so much and the flight of steps in front has become buried in the earth. Moreover, we must imagine the blankness of the rather high pediment relieved by reliefs such as also adorned the large pediments of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome. Characteristic of late Roman architecture are the consoles on the slanting edges of the gable, these being restricted in better periods to the lower horizontal cornice (fig. 76).



FIG. 76.—Portico of the Pantheon.

The want of organic unity in the exterior of the building as a whole comes out strikingly in the side view of the porch. The entablature of the latter, supported by columns in the portico, and by pilasters in the massive piece at the back, simply stops short at the rotunda; the two carved courses that run round the latter correspond with its interior construction but have no relation to the porch. Only the massive

portion between the porch and the rotunda conforms so far to the external treatment of the latter as to take up and continue the upper cornice from which then a sham gable is allowed to rise. This gable is so incredibly tasteless as to be broken in its upper half, and from that point the cornice continues horizontally. Above it rises the projecting front of the temple like an *attica*, the cornice-moulding of which joins that of the rotunda.

In the porch, the first, third, sixth, and eighth columns have each two corresponding columns standing behind them. The three most easterly of these are restored. Plain granite shafts, 12 metres high, rise from bases of white marble; their Corinthian capitals are, unfortunately, severely damaged. The interior frame-work was formerly made of hollow beams of bronze, and supported three barrel vaults with panels. All the metal materials were employed by Urban VIII., of the Barberini family, for the tabernacle of S. Peter's and the cannon of the Castle of S. Angelo; the same Pope had placed two bell-towers—removed in 1882—upon the front building.

At the back of the porch are two recesses in which probably stood the statues of Augustus and Agrippa; and between them a passage with a barrel roof, pilasters, and decorated walls, leads to the great entrance-door, six metres in height, which still preserves its two wings, plated with bronze in a simple design of squares and rosettes, and the metal grating above.

Every thought of the features which are felt to be incongruous on the exterior will disappear upon entering the interior, so perfectly harmonious and impressive in

their unity are its component parts (fig. 77). Each spectator will give himself up to peacefully enjoying the impression of restful sublimity which this interior produces in an unparalleled degree, and will not seek until later to analyse the factors of this effect, or the



FIG. 77.—Interior of the Pantheon.

separate means by which the charm has been wrought, a charm that was even more perfect before modern disfigurement.

Excessive simplicity of proportion lies at the root of the matter. The interior diameter of the building is 43.4 metres, and its height is just the same. Precisely half of this is the measure from the floor to the cornice at the birth of the dome, and to the apex of the dome is again an equal distance, so that the

perpendicular cylinder formed by the space is of the same height as the half sphere which covers it. The apex of this sphere is lighted by a circular so-called eye or *opæon*, almost $8\frac{1}{2}$ metres across. This is the only light in the whole building. It has no hindering superstructure in the form of a "lantern"; no other building in the world can compare with the Pantheon as regards the quite unique effect of light as it streams powerfully down.

The enormous cylinder of the walls (6.70 metres thick) is so far from forming a monotonous undivided mass that it may rather be reduced to a system of eight hollowed pillars acting as supports of the dome. Eight recesses, 8 metres wide, $4\frac{1}{2}$ deep, alternately curved and angular in plan, open between the supports into the interior of the building, and an equal number of smaller recesses form hollows within the pillar supports. Semi-circular relieving arches on the outside show the position of these recesses and hollows, which are also repeated above the beginning of the dome in that strong perpendicular wall encircling the lowest third of the dome, visible above the second cornice of the exterior. This raising of the cylinder of the walls serves to resist the side-thrust of the dome, and the rings which rise like steps above it as far as the second third of the dome are for the same purpose. Thus the spherical surface of the dome shows very little on the outside and seems deeply sunk within its strong enclosure, an effect which may be contrasted with the incomparably beautiful outline of the dome of St Peter's, which, with its projecting ribs and surface, is constructed upon completely different

principles, and is derived, not from the Pantheon but from Brunelleschi's work of genius, the dome of the Cathedral in Florence, and from the model of the Cathedral itself, the Florentine Baptistery. The architect of the Pantheon has treated the interior of his cupola as it was the custom to treat flat ceilings and the barrel vaulting that succeeded them, and has panelled all but the top portion, which was meant to be coloured. Five rows of twenty-eight panels each rise one above the other, and each panel has three depths; but the plain bronze rosettes which ornamented them are missing. Both the diminution in size towards the top and the position of the planes in each individual panel are arranged with the greatest skill in regard to the effect of perspective.

If the dome at the present day has lost its old polychromatic effect, the zone below it unfortunately entirely fails of the original impression; its architectonic division and its decoration of coloured stucco are the result of a restoration under Benedict XIV. in the eighteenth century; but even before that the original arrangement did not exist but had been altered as far back as the time of Septimius Severus, who boasts on the architrave of the porch of a restoration that he made. The original design is not altogether easy to recover. It may be pretty safely assumed that above each of the six lower lateral recesses there were semi-circular openings—lunettes, closed perhaps by gratings. On the lower part of the wall there is little that the mind's eye need alter. Here the decoration of columns and pilasters with their frieze is as it was from the first. Here, between the recesses, rise still the upper part of the

altars—the *ædiculæ*, as they were called—the columns supporting alternately triangular and rounded pediments, a design frequently adopted in the Renaissance for window frames, from the time of Bramante. Raphael's Palazzo Pandolfini in Florence (1516 ff.) offers the oldest example in a state of preservation at the present time. The principal recess rises impressively opposite to the entrance; its columns have been placed sideways in front of the wall in order to present the full height and breadth, and their entablature projects. Owing to the curved line of the wall the architrave was obliged to take a disturbing inward bend.

While, as regards the preservation of the interior, no other ancient building can compare with the Pantheon, we must not judge the former effect of the exterior by its present appearance. The undeniable bluntness and heaviness were hidden from sight by the surrounding constructions of the extensive Baths of Agrippa, which, like the Pantheon, underwent restoration at the hands of Hadrian. Peruzzi in his day was able to sketch these baths in a wide circuit; at the present day it is the great southern building which first strikes the eye, a hall 45 metres long by 19 wide, which is traversed lengthwise by the high-lying Via della Palombella. The north wall widens out into a great apse, and is broken up by smaller recesses and by columns standing in front of it. The splendid material of the columns accords with the fine decoration—dolphins, mussels, etc.—of the white marble frieze. One testimony, among others, to the great extent of these baths is the fragment of a domed building in the Via dell' Arco della Ciambella. The public hot baths of Agrippa were the first institution of

the kind in Rome, and to them were added, in course of time, those of Nero and of Alexander Severus, all in the Campus Martius. Valuable architectural fragments of the Baths of Severus have come to light in the neighbourhood of the Church of S. Luigi de' Francesi.

COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.—

The map of the Campus Martius shows numerous monuments of archæological and topographical interest, besides those already described, but in their often very scanty state of preservation they can hardly occupy the attention of the lover of art. Only two deserve to be mentioned and dwelt upon here, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, in the Piazza Colonna, and the Mausoleum of Augustus, which can best be elucidated by considering it in comparison with the tomb of Hadrian.

Artistically considered the Column of Marcus Aurelius forms a pendant to the similar monument in honour of Trajan, and we must imagine its surroundings also as similar; the temple to the deified Emperor rose near by, and the rest of the square was surrounded by other buildings. The construction of the shaft is similar to that of Trajan. The present pedestal is modern; the original base, with three steps to it, is buried; the column, which is nearly four metres in diameter and fully 29 in height, is built up of twenty-six drums of marble; on the inside two hundred and three steps, lighted by fifty-six little windows, lead up to the Doric capital, which was formerly crowned by the statue of the Emperor as now by that of St Paul. The reliefs that wind in a spiral round the shaft represent the military expeditions of

Marcus Aurelius against the Germans (fig. 78); and



FIG. 78.—Column of Marcus Aurelius.

in this point, too, the archaeological interest of the sculptures—which can only be closely studied in

casts—is far greater than their artistic value. The representation of the miracle of rain has in all times aroused special interest.

We may mention here that remains of plastic ornamentation belonging to other monuments, the Column of Antoninus Pius, the Arch of Claudius, that of Diocletian over the Via Lata, that of Hadrian, and others, are to be found in Roman collections (Villa Borghese, etc.). Scattered fragments of the same kind (in the Uffizii at Florence and elsewhere), taken in connection with old bases which have been dug out, enable us to form an idea of the great altars such as the *Ara Ditis* and the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*. The former of these, dedicated to Dis Pater and to Proserpine, at which the secular games were held in the year 17 B.C., formed a terrace nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide, raised on three steps and enclosed by walls; a few slight traces of it have been found on the line of the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele, near the Piazza Cesarini, in that part of the Campus Martius which was called Tarentum. More substantial are the remains of the Altar of Peace, which was erected beside the Via Flaminia (opposite to the present Via della Vite) in 13 B.C. as a memorial of the victorious return of Augustus from Gaul. This foundation was 10 metres long; the entrance on the east and the angles of the walls were adorned by Corinthian pilasters, the walls themselves being decorated, inside and out, with marble reliefs of ornaments and figures, finely worked (see vol. i. p. 259).

TOMB OF AUGUSTUS.—Besides the tomb of Bibulus, already mentioned, we find, in the northern part of Rome, the remains of two other tombs. One

of these, subsequently enclosed within the circuit of the Wall of Aurelian, the Mausoleum of Augustus (in the Via de' Pontefici), is destroyed, all but the outer walls, which are now used to enclose a circus; the other, the Tomb of Hadrian, has been altered by additions, but is still imposing as a whole. Both constructions belong to the class of tumuli, that is, are circular buildings with a cylindrical lower part, a grandiose development of the ancient form of grave-mound. The diameter of the Mausoleum of Augustus is 88 metres. White marble was the material employed. A conical mound, perhaps laid out in terraces, crowned the substructure; foliage enlivened it, and at the summit stood the statue of the Emperor. At the entrance, on the southern side, the deeds of Augustus were inscribed on bronze tablets, the marble copies of which in the Temple of Ancyra (Angora) have come down to our day. Two obelisks, of which one is now behind S. Maria Maggiore and the other is set up on the Quirinal, flanked the entrance to the monument; a park surrounded it and contained the *ustrinum*. A similar *crematorium* was erected for themselves by the Antonine emperors, in the Campus Martius. The precinct was 140 feet square, and within were two more walled squares, the outer one being intended, it is supposed, to keep off the heat of the furnaces in the inmost square; the outermost wall probably had a gate between two posts.

The names of the persons laid to rest in the mausoleum of Augustus begin with that of Marcellus, his nephew; then follow Agrippa, Drusus, and others, and the series of Emperors begins with Augustus and goes down to Nerva (A.D. 98), Caligula and Nero being excepted.

TOMB OF HADRIAN.—Trajan, the successor of Nerva, is reported to have been buried beneath his column; but Hadrian provided a new, great place of burial for the Emperors, which he erected in Domitia's gardens on the north of the Tiber, across which the five-arched Pons Ælius (Ponte S. Angelo) was thrown (fig. 79). It leads directly to the Mausoleum, which, world-renowned at one time as the *Moles Hadriani*, was to play a great part throughout subsequent ages as the "Castle of the Holy Angel"—namely the city fortress crowned by the statue of

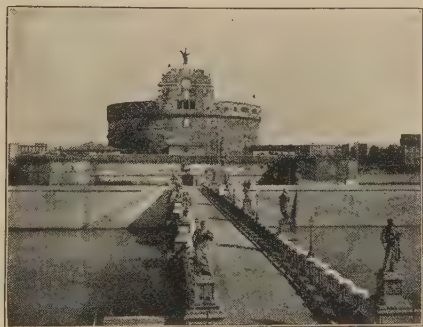


FIG. 79.—Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant' Angelo).

the Archangel Michael. The buildings that rise high above the drum of the wall and the crenellated border of the wall itself with its brackets, are of mediæval or modern origin. What we still see of the old building has been robbed of its decoration or veiled by later additions. This is the case with the great square base, 84 metres across, which had pilasters at the corners and a rich architrave, and is still partially visible in drawings of the time of the Renaissance (fig. 80); the ring of columns or pilasters is

gone which enclosed the great drum of 64 metres in diameter; the statues also are gone which crowned this principal part of the building, and we still admire in modern museums single figures which are a remnant of what was torn down by the besieging Goths. The whole upper part of the building is destroyed;

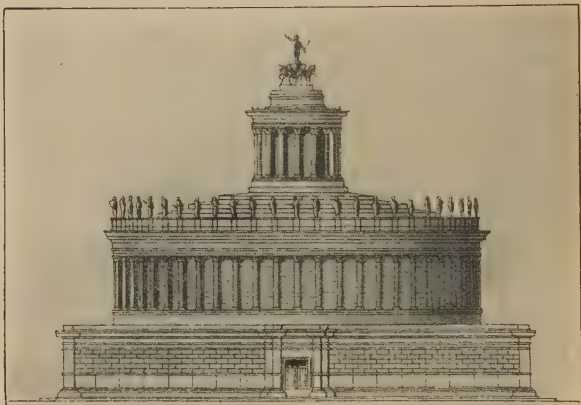


FIG. 80.—Mausoleum of Hadrian (reconstruction by Borgatti).

it may, perhaps, have consisted of a second drum, very much narrower in diameter, crowned by a four-horsed chariot. Among the remains of the plastic decorations are the colossal head of Hadrian, in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican, and the bronze peacocks which are kept in the Giardino della Pigna, and which at one time adorned the well in front of the old Basilica of St Peter.¹ Within the mausoleum a spiral path led to the funeral chamber.

¹ Vol. i. p. 58.



FIG. 81.—Tepidarium of the Baths of Caracalla.

VIII

THE EAST AND SOUTH OF ROME

TEMPLES.—In comparison with the multiplicity of remains in the districts of ancient Rome hitherto examined the east and south offer little that is remarkable except the great Baths. These indeed are more massive and extensive than perhaps any other ancient foundations which the city possesses. Scarcely any tiny fragment remains of the temples in the eastern district, and even the position is in many cases uncertain. Of Aurelian's great Temple of the Sun, we are only sure that it stood, not on the slope of the Quirinal, but farther westward towards the Campus

Martius ; and the remains found in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna must be identified, not with that sanctuary, but perhaps with the Temple of Serapis. Adjacent to the latter building on the east, and south of the present palace of the Consulta, rose the Baths of Constantine, the ground-plan of which is preserved for us by sketches of the sixteenth century (Serlio and Palladio, etc.). The limits of the site, which falls away very steeply, necessitated a separate grouping of the rooms ; and in the matter of spaciousness the whole institution was far inferior to subsequent Baths. The group of the Dioscuri in front of the palace of the Quirinal—reputed copies of works by Pheidias and Praxiteles—and a statue of Constantine now standing in the porch of the Lateran, as well as his images on the balustrade of the square of the Capitol, come from these Baths.

The present Via del Quirinale, running eastward from Monte Cavallo, with its continuation, the Via del Venti Settembre, corresponds with the old main artery of this district formed by the Alta Semita and the Vicus Portæ Collinæ ; the ancient pavement lies three metres below the modern one. Four temples stood on the left of this roadway : the Temple of Quirinus, and the so-called Old Capitol in the present garden of the Quirinal ; the Temple of Salus approximately on the site of the palace of the Quirinal ; and a Temple of Fortuna just within the Porta Collina. The Temple of Quirinus, an extremely ancient foundation, was built afresh by the consul Papirius in the year 293 B.C., and after various accidents Augustus finally replaced it in the year 16 B.C. by a magnificent new building which was one of the not very common

dipteroi or temples with double porticoes. It had seventy-six Doric columns, eight in front and fifteen on each side, and its porticoed court was a favourite promenade. Of the Temple of Fortune, too, at the Porta Collina—which was one of three bearing the same name in this district—an architectural peculiarity is recorded: it was a temple *in antis*, that is, the porch opened with two columns between the projecting walls.

VILLAS.—The great district north of the long roadway mentioned above was one of the favourite quarters for villas. Until about twenty years ago, the incomparably beautiful shady walks and quiet grottoes of the Villa Ludovisi and the Villa Spithöver still delighted the eye at this spot; but now nothing of the kind remains except the Villa Medici and the promenade of the Pincio. There was a time, however, when the extensive gardens of the rich patricians, made beautiful by nature and by art, covered the Collis Hortorum or Mons Pincius, the north-western slope of which was enclosed by the Wall of Aurelian. The greatest space was occupied by the gardens of Sallust, which extended from about the present Via Veneto to near the Via di Porta Salara. They were made by C. Sallustius Crispus, the historian, who employed the booty which he brought from Numidia, where he was governor in 47 B.C., in laying them out with great magnificence. After the death of his nephew in A.D. 21 they probably passed into the possession of the Emperors, were improved by Aurelian, who resided here, and finally destroyed by Alaric in 410. A series of architectural foundations has been discovered here, principally during building

operations in the year 1884 : remains of a dwelling-house built against the slope of a hill, and expensively adorned with marble and stucco ; a portico with columns of travertine, a nymphæum with a mosaic pavement and yellow marble pillars and other things. A Temple of Venus is mentioned in an inscription as having been situated here. Many of the treasures of our museums came from these gardens : the Dying Gaul of the Capitol, the group of the Gaul and his Wife in the Museo delle Terme, Silenus with the Child Dionysus in the Louvre, and many more. The obelisk in front of S. Trinità de' Monti, too, once adorned this villa. The Porticus Milliarenis also deserves to be mentioned, a hall of 1000 feet (or paces) in length, which Aurelian used as a riding-school.

The gardens of Lucullus, which extended north of the Via Sistina to near S. Trinità, rivalled those of Sallust in splendour. They, too, became imperial property, in the time of Claudius, when Messalina, who coveted them, brought about the death of their owner, Valerius Asiaticus. She herself was overtaken by her fate in the gardens.

On the north were also the gardens of Pompey and those of the Domitii, where Nero was secretly conveyed by his mistress Acte in A.D. 68 ; and, on the site of the present promenade of the Pincio, those of the Acilii. The name of the hill was derived from the family of the Pincii, who possessed a villa here, which served as quarters for Belisarius when he directed the defence of Rome against Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths.

DWELLING-HOUSES.—While the district

north of the Alta Semita was occupied by temples and villas, that on the south of this road and on the slope of the Quirinal has furnished many remains of dwelling-houses, which, however, are solely of historic and topographical interest. The fragments of the houses of the Pomponii, the Numii, Valerius Vegetus, Haterius, etc., furnish nothing material to the history of architecture. Only one shrine, that of the Flavian family, was mixed up with these private dwellings. Many of these houses were ousted by the Baths of Diocletian. The remains of domestic architecture on the east of ancient Rome, as upon the south, demand, with very few exceptions, no attention from the student of art. A few fragments of rooms and of a portico belonging to the house of the Laterani, on the southern edge of the Cœlius, were discovered at a recent enlargement of the choir of the Lateran Church; of the house of the præfect of the city, Symmachus, which lay farther to the west, nothing has been found but remnants of columns and statues. The purpose of a building erected in the gardens of Mæcenas beside the Wall of Servius is still unexplained; it has been erroneously called an *auditorium*. It is a very deep-sunk apartment, adjoined at one end by an apse with seven steep, concentric steps. The building, one side of which breaks through the Servian Wall, is constructed of tufa in *opus reticulatum* (so called from its resemblance to the meshes of a net), and formerly had a vaulted roof; the strong walls are decorated by rectangular niches which show traces of paintings (views of gardens). The interior of the room is now full of architectural and plastic fragments found here and in the neighbourhood.

We may call attention, in passing, to two of the triumphal arches scattered about the east and south of the city, which are inferior in size to those mentioned before. The Arch of Gallienus, erected in 262, close by the place where the Porta Esquilina had been, is



FIG. 82.—The Arch of Gallienus.

extremely simple in its decoration (fig. 82). The so-called Arch of Drusus, near the Porta S. Sebastiano (fig. 83), was altered by the carrying of an aqueduct over it, and in mediæval times by the building of a tower upon it.

**NYMPHÆ-
UMS.**—More significant in their appearance, and—like the so-

called “Minerva Medica”—also of æsthetic importance, are other relics of an architectonic kind in the east of Rome which belong to the group of so-called nymphæums, that is to say, ornamental buildings which include water as an essential factor in their construction. Sometimes they are secluded grottoes, nestling in the side of a hill, like the Fountain of Egeria, which still delights us outside

Rome ; sometimes they are buildings rising high in the open, the most imposing example of which we have already admired in the Septizonium ; finally, they are sometimes large cool domed rooms with niches and pools, which seem like a part of some public bath. Of this last sort is the ruin of Minerva Medica ; to the other kind belong the so-called Trophies of Marius in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, a picturesque building rising like a tower, with a bare core, once richly adorned with costly stone and works of statuary, and of late surrounded once more by water and greenery (fig. 84). Among its ornaments were the trophies belonging to the time of Domitian, which were taken hence in the sixteenth century and placed on the balustrade of the square of the Capitol ; while the building itself is not older than the third century (Alexander Severus?). The picturesque ruin now lying bare and desolate beside S. Croce in Gerusalemme, was a building with niches, which



FIG. 83.—So-called Arch of Drusus.

Among its ornaments were the trophies belonging to the time of Domitian, which were taken hence in the sixteenth century and placed on the balustrade of the square of the Capitol ; while the building itself is not older than the third century (Alexander Severus?). The picturesque ruin now lying bare and desolate beside S. Croce in Gerusalemme, was a building with niches, which

may have belonged to one of these nymphæums, unless indeed it formed part of the palace or court of the Sessorium (fig. 85). Far more important is the decagonal domed building standing up close by the railway bank, which has borne the name of *Minerva Medica* ever since the Middle

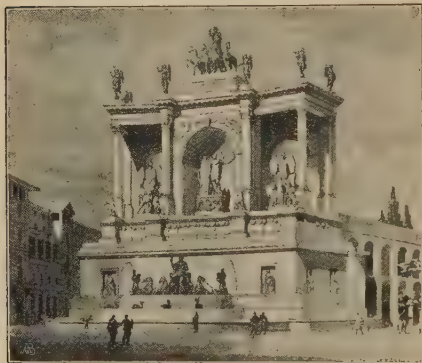


FIG. 84.—Nymphæum of Alexander Severus
(reconstruction by Bühlmann).

Ages (fig. 86). This decagon (probably belonging to the third century of our era) is adorned in its lower half with niches; above are large, round-headed windows, so that the effect of light is altogether dif-

ferent from that in the Pantheon. The construction of the dome is a valuable subject of architectural study.

PUBLIC BATHS.—One last species of ancient buildings in Rome still remains to be examined, monuments that, though presenting a great similarity of arrangement, are among the most extensive ruins in Rome, namely, the *Thermæ* or hot baths. We have already become acquainted with the earliest

in date, the Baths of Agrippa in the Campus Martius ; as we make our way through the eastern part of Rome we have passed close by other buildings of like purpose, which Diocletian erected on the Quirinal, and Titus and Trajan upon the Viminal ; on the south-west, the Baths of Car-



FIG. 85.—Nymphæum near Santa Croce.



FIG. 86.—Nymphæum near the Station (so-called "Minerva Medica").

acalla captivate our eye more than any of these (fig. 87). The broken mass, overwhelming, even in decay, and not altered like the Baths of Diocletian by any later addition, spreads over a southern spur of the Aventine, to the west of the intramural portion of the Appian Way. In extent

the Baths of Diocletian almost equal those of Caracalla, and those of Titus are not very much behind. In all may be distinguished a large, approximately square

court surrounded by buildings, and in the middle a principal building, somewhat oblong in shape. The court in the Baths of Caracalla measures 353 metres square; in those of Diocletian 420 by 380—an area

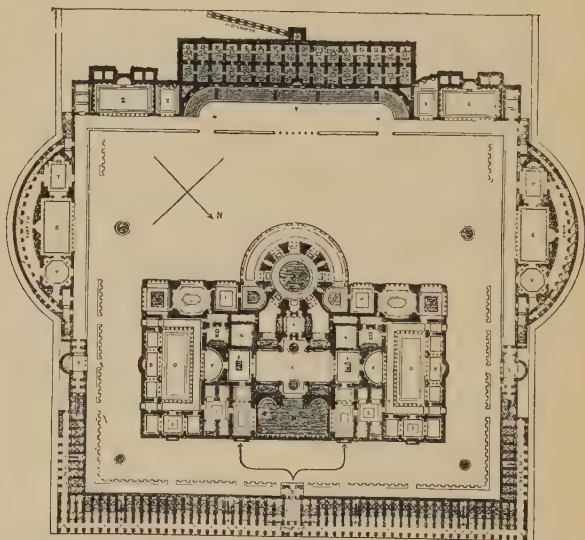


FIG. 87.—Ground-plan of the Baths of Caracalla, after Baumeister's "Denkmäler."

of 140,000 square metres. The level surface in the Baths of Caracalla must have been partly made artificially by filling in. Not long ago a house of the time of Trajan, the atrium and rooms of which had columns, was laid bare in the south-west part. The entrance to the court was in the middle of

the north-east wall on the outside; along the whole length of this run narrow deep rooms with a portico in front of them. Their purpose is not quite clear; perhaps they were cells for single baths. They reach some distance beyond the corners of the walls and round the court, and are then replaced by other rooms opening on the court itself, larger in size and varying in ground-plan. These consist of rooms with niches, large halls and vaulted chambers, some of them built into segment-shaped bays of the court. These continue along the fourth, south-western side to the space rounded at the ends which can be identified by its amphitheatre of seats as a stadium bisected in its length. Beyond lies an extensive reservoir of water, fed by an aqueduct.

The manifold character of these arrangements would of itself indicate that the public baths were immensely more to the Romans than any bathing establishment in our modern use. Not only did the body receive in them every conceivable sort of care by means of baths, massage, and sports of all kinds, but mental refreshment was provided in libraries and other rooms



FIG. 88.--Palæstra in the Baths of Caracalla.

where people could comfortably rest, walk about, and discuss. The wide space around the high central



FIG. 89.—Tepidarium of the Bath of Caracalla
(reconstruction by Thiersch).

building was laid out like a park and had fountains in it; while this building itself combined a bewildering multiplicity of rooms with the severest regularity and an absolute symmetry. Precisely alike was the grouping of halls, courts, and rooms on each side of the central axis. The present entrance to the ruins leads straight into the middle

portion of the building; the way in used to be—as it was until a few years ago—through side entrances directly into one of the large and long pillared courts which people are inclined to identify as *palaestra*,

places for bodily exercises (fig. 88); around this peristyle are rooms with vaulted roofs, and there are traces of an upper story. Remains of a sculptured frieze and of a mosaic pavement are preserved; the best parts of the latter—figures of gladiators in bright colours—have been removed to the Lateran Museum. Part of the ruins towards the middle of the building may be plainly seen to be hot baths; part of them too must have been the *Apodyteria*, the dressing-rooms from which the bathers passed to the regular succession of baths. The *Tepidarium* was generally the beginning; here the bather was anointed and rubbed in a gently warmed room; he next took a warm bath in the adjoining *Caldarium*, and finished with a cold bath in the *Frigidarium*, a great basin open to the sky. That is the space which nowadays is first entered after crossing the ante-room in the middle building. It opened out in colonnades on to the ante-rooms at each side. Its exterior end is formed by the high wall once richly ornamented with columns, niches, and statues; the opposite end widens into three very large recesses, of which the middle one forms the entrance to the *Tepidarium* (fig. 89). This apartment consists of a hall 56 metres long by 22 wide, with a roof of three cross vaultings. There, too, the sides open, between columns, into side rooms, and the length of the hall is increased by recesses of varying form. Architecturally this hall corresponds to the central aisle in the Basilica of Constantine; here, as there, four columns stood in front of each side wall; they were monoliths of grey granite, one of which has, since the time of Paul III., adorned the Piazza S. Trinità at Florence. Through the

centre of the south-west side of this hall we enter the Caldarium, which consists of a smaller rectangular apartment and of a great rotunda, now half destroyed, which once resembled the Pantheon (fig. 90). Two-thirds of its surface rose above the straight line of the



FIG. 90.—Caldarium of the Baths of Caracalla.

main building ; amid the blocks of columns and in the ground, traces of the heating apparatus are still discernible.

These baths were fitted and decorated most magnificently, but only a few miserable relics of plastic and mosaic ornamentation now remain in their place to bear witness to the

fact—sculptured capitals, fragments of friezes, and bits of mosaic pavement (fig. 92). The treasures of plastic art that once graced these ruins—among them the Farnese Bull by Apollonius and Tauriscus, the Farnese Hercules by Glycon, the Flora, and others—have mostly gone to the Museum of Naples with other precious things belonging to the Farnese family, who made excavations here ; two great basins of granite

were set up by the Farnese in front of their palace. These baths, which had been restored once by Aurelian after a fire, were restored again by Theodoric, the Goth, as late as the beginning of the sixth century; begun by Caracalla in 212 and completed by Alexander Severus, they were almost the latest in the series of

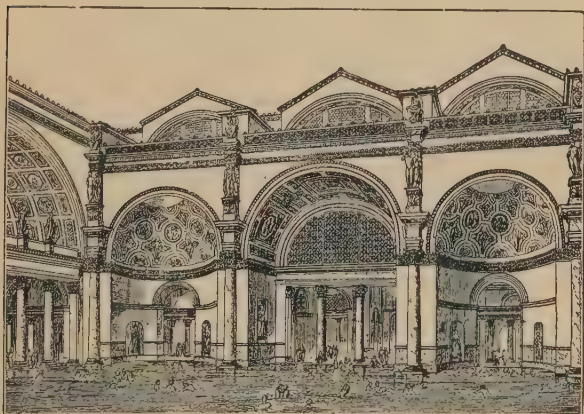


FIG. 91.—Frigidarium of the Baths of Caracalla, after Baumeister's "Denkmäler."

great baths, and were followed only by those of Decius, Diocletian, and Constantine. In none of these, nor in any earlier ones, is there nearly so complete a whole remaining; most of them can only be traced out with the help of old sketches. The Baths of Diocletian, indeed, have the superiority in that they have preserved, as far as construction goes, a rotunda with a dome and the great hall with its vaulted roof;

the decorations, indeed, of these are modern, for Michelangelo built the Church of S. Maria degli



FIG. 92.—Capital of a column in the Baths of Caracalla.

Angeli into them. The ruins of the Baths of Titus, on the east of the Colosseum, only deserve a visit because within them we descend to the ruins of Nero's Golden House, which are buried underneath. These are the rooms, covered with fine plaster-work and painting, whose style of decoration, when discovered

and practised afresh by the masters of the Renaissance, was called "grotesque" from the "grotto" where it was discovered.

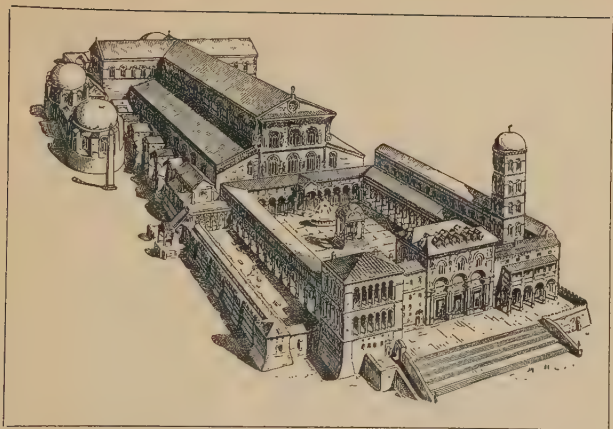


FIG. 93.—View of the old Church of S. Peter, after P. Crostarosa :
 “Le Basiliche cristiane.”

IX

CHRISTIAN BASILICAS

THE transition from heathen to Christian art in the latter days of ancient Rome was accomplished very slowly. It is visible at first only in the contents, not in the form of the work. The Christian art of Rome remains antique in its outward aspect far on into the Middle Ages. In order to observe its earliest steps we must go beyond the gates of the city into the catacombs where the oldest pictorial utterances of the Christian still reach us. Beyond the walls, too, are the most conspicuous monuments of the earliest ecclesiastical architecture—the

great basilicas over the graves of the martyrs, which, in the course of nearly two thousand years, have not altered their shape and only partially their materials. These oldest examples of Christian art, scattered over the Campagna, do not fall within the scope of the present volume. But within the city itself are many churches the form of which still shows that they originated from an ancient and even pagan architectural tradition. The type of the basilica was introduced from Greece, and soon extended over the whole Roman Empire in the form which we have seen in the Basilica Julia, Basilica Ulpia, and others; then modified for special purposes, it developed into a house-basilica, as in the palace of the Flavii on the Palatine, and in that form appears also in Roman churches, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sabina, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Agnese, and many other instances. They exhibit varieties diverging from the great species Basilica, and having in common with the main type the leading features of an oblong space divided into three or five aisles, and the raising of the broader central nave, in order to obtain direct light by means of a clerestory. At the ends, appear the alterations already exhibited by the palace-basilica; here the rows of columns disappear and the middle nave thus communicates directly with the building added at one end. In ecclesiastical basilicas this addition was invariably in the form of an apsis, being semi-circular in ground-plan and roofed with a half dome. The seats of the priests, with the raised chair for the bishop in the centre, run round the wall of this presbyterium; in front the altar stands free, and was at first

a plain table of stone, but by degrees became also a reliquary and assumed an enclosed form. A canopy supported by four columns, the ciborium, generally adorned the altar, but this older form has generally been superseded by a mediæval substitute in the so-called style of the Cosmati. To the Middle Ages, too, belong other extant appointments in the interior

of Roman churches—the barriers which divided off the space of the altar and surrounded the place of the singers — the *Schola Cantorum*—the *ambones* or reading-desks, and other things of the



FIG. 94.—San Lorenzo fuori le mura.

kind which we may study in S. Lorenzo (fig. 94), S. Clemente, and elsewhere.

On the other hand, many Roman churches still retain considerable remains of the original wall decorations. Mosaic-work, which among the ancients was employed almost exclusively to ornament the floors, now ascended to the walls, and pictures glowing with colour and gleaming with gold looked down upon the worshippers, preaching zeal, consolation, and instruction in the figurative narratives of the Old or the New Testament, or in the symbolic pictures

of that period. The faults of drawing, colouring, and perspective or composition show how the power of art was failing ; such representations as those in S. Maria Maggiore show plainly that they had models belonging to the later days of antiquity, such as the reliefs on the triumphal columns. Yet figures like that of the Christ in S. Pudenziana (belonging to the end of the fourth century) or that in the dome of the apse of SS. Cosma and Damiano (536-40) are of peculiar power and tranquil beauty. Lastly, the Church of S. Pancrazio, on the Janiculum, may give us an idea of the under churches or crypts in their earliest stage. The development of this part of the building was very gradual. To bury or to preserve the body of a martyr within the walls of Rome was forbidden by law down to the fifth century. Those who wished solemnly to celebrate the memory of the defenders of the faith were obliged to assemble at their graves beyond the gates. The narrow subterranean spaces of the cemeteries soon became insufficient to contain the crowds of the devout who came to such ceremonies, and the service begun at the grave was repeated above ground in front of little open chapels, such as we may still see above the catacombs of Calixtus and elsewhere ; or churches to the memory of the martyrs were built, in basilica-form, over their graves, as was customary with the 'tituli' or parish churches of the town, which numbered 28 as early as the fourth century. In these cemetery-basilicas the altar was placed over the tomb, into which it was possible to look, through a marble grating, or to let down objects which, after having touched the graves, assumed the character of relics.

The Church of St Peter was in the beginning one of these memorial churches built over a grave, and was established on the hill of the Vatican outside the wall of Aurelian. Its design with a transverse nave and five aisles was like that of S. Paolo. It also possessed the *atrium* or outer court surrounded by colonnades, which was a peculiarity of the oldest churches; this feature has lately been restored at S. Paolo and still exists from mediæval times at S. Clemente, while the other early churches generally possess but one of the four arcades, the one against the front of the church. The well or fountain—the cantharus—in the middle of the atrium (which was often laid out as a garden) existed at St Peter's in a magnificent form; the upper part with its bronze ornaments, which included the metal peacocks mentioned above, p. 154 (*cf.* also vol. i. p. 58), in connection with the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was made of antique fragments and was supported upon columns.

S. Lorenzo, before the Porta Tiburtina, presents an example of the union of two memorial churches, the apses of which originally touched each other, until finally, after much enlarging and pulling down, the choir-recess of the eastern church—which is an example, rare in Rome, of a singing gallery—became the choir of the western basilica. Finally, a little attention should be given to a round building, S. Costanza, in the Via Nomentana, on account of its relation to ancient architecture (fig. 95). This building, founded as a memorial church under Constantine, represents the interesting development, in the history of round and domed buildings, of the undivided rotunda into a rotunda with concentric plan, the domed central

space, which receives its light from windows in the cylindrical wall, the so-called *tambour*, being encircled by a low corridor with a vaulted roof. Still more subdivided was the round church of S. Stefano on the Coelius, the large central rotunda of which, before the church was made smaller, was obliged to have its flat roof supported by arches upon high columns (fig. 96). Whether remains of the Macellum, or



FIG. 95.—Santa Costanza.

slaughter-house, are preserved in this building cannot now be determined. A detailed description of this and other similar monuments would carry us too far beyond our present

task ; we must content ourselves in this place with saying briefly that ancient architecture in Rome showed itself sufficiently alive, even centuries after the close of the antique period, to determine the style of the ecclesiastical architecture which was coming into existence. It is not, indeed, solely owing to the power of the antique that the mediæval styles—the Romanesque and Gothic—never, or only very exceptionally, gained a foothold in Rome ; the reasons lay to a great extent in the decay of the city's culture,

the exile of the Popes, and other events. But how important the ruins of Rome were to the architect in the revival of art in the fifteenth century, may be seen from the studies and works of the later masters from the time of Brunelleschi onwards. The sketches, indeed, in addition to exhibiting the evolution and artistic intention



FIG. 96.—Santo Stefano rotondo.

of the masters, possess the further inestimable value of preserving for us pictures of many and many a piece of ancient Roman building since lost. We must be on our guard, however, in our attempts to reconstruct ancient monuments, against using the arbitrary restorations which sometimes appear in the drawings of the Renaissance.

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